

THE CANADIAN NUMISMATIC RESEARCH SOCIETY



Transactions
2019

Vol. 6, New Series

**TRANSACTIONS
OF
THE CANADIAN NUMISMATIC
RESEARCH SOCIETY**



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2019**

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Acton, Ontario
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Guide for Contributors

The *Transactions of the Canadian Numismatic Research Society* is intended to be a venue for longer articles of original research which may be unsuitable for publication in magazines like *The CN Journal* or periodicals like *Numismatica Canada*. Articles from Fellows of the CNRS on any aspect of numismatics in Canada are welcome. Contributors are encouraged to adhere to the following guidelines.

1. Submissions should be in MS Word, Times New Roman, 12-pt.
2. Single-spacing is acceptable, including between paragraphs. The first line of each paragraph should be indented.
3. Quoted material longer than seven or eight lines should be double-indented ½ inch from the left and right margins and separated by a space from the body of the text before and after it. It should not be enclosed by the addition of quotation marks or be italicized. All quoted material should be quoted with absolute fidelity, including any use of quotation marks, italics, capitals, spelling, punctuation, etc., as in the original.
4. For reasons of copyright and research ethics, the source of all quotations, paraphrased material, and borrowed ideas must be acknowledged accurately.
5. The preferred style for acknowledging source material is to embed the reference in the body of the text, preferably at the end of sentences or paragraphs, with the author's surname, the date of publication, and the page number, as follows (Breton 1894: 47). This reduces the proliferation of footnotes.
6. Footnotes should be reserved for expository material of a supplemental or explanatory nature. Avoid endnotes.
7. The bibliography, arranged alphabetically by author, should include all works cited in the text of the article, in the following style: Breton, P.N. 1894. *Illustrated History of Coins and Tokens Relating to Canada*. Montreal: P.N. Breton & Co.
8. Illustrations should be submitted with the article along with the desired captions.
9. All illustrations must be cleared of copyright and, where applicable, permission granted for reproduction.
10. Submissions will be reviewed and returned to the author for response, with corrections, suggestions, and comments in the track changes feature of MS Word.
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IN MEMORIAM
MEL KYLE



Melvin Hugh Kyle
November 17, 1936 – January 16, 2018

It is with profound sadness we advise the numismatic community that we have lost a good friend, Mel Kyle on January 16, 2018. A resident of Wyoming, Ontario at his death, he was born in Miami, Manitoba. Mel had various occupations including employment at Fibreglass Canada, Sarnia, and he also served in the Royal Canadian Air Force, stationed both throughout Canada and Europe. After leaving the service he farmed in Lambton County, and in his early retirement years he served with the Canadian Corps of Commissionaires at the Coast Guard office in Sarnia. Mel is survived by his loving wife Freda, and family.

Mel was a member of the Royal Canadian Numismatic Association, the Ontario Numismatic Association, the Canadian Association of Token Collectors, and a Fellow of the Canadian Numismatic Research Society. He was also a member of the London Numismatic Society, and previously the Watford Coin Club and the Sarnia Coin Club.

Mel was well known as a serious collector and meticulously collected only the finest specimens he could find, and resisted the temptation to just fill holes in his collections. He collected both pre- and post-Confederation tokens, transportation and Canadian military tokens, but his biggest passion related to the merchant due bills of Lambton County. Over the years he contributed 87 well-researched articles covering the tokens of his home county, and other interesting topics. Mel had systematically nearly completed collecting all the known tokens for Lambton County, missing just one issuer. He had also made dozens of new discoveries.

Mel will be remembered both in Canada and in the United States for not only his numismatic contributions but for his wonderful sense of humour, his honesty and pleasant personality. He was always ready to assist other collectors and unselfishly would make a part of his collections available to those who had a greater interest in a particular piece. Our highly respected friend will be sadly missed.

Len Buth

REMEMBERING NORMAN W. WILLIAMS (1924-2018)

Norm was born in 1924 at Fernie, B.C. to a Ukrainian-Canadian family. His baptismal name was Vladimir Waslykow, which he later changed to "Norman Williams" before practising law. His father ran a restaurant in Kamloops, B.C. - a fact that he would mention to servers whenever we were at a restaurant. Norm attended the University of British Columbia's law school and set up his law practice in New Westminster. In the 1980s when I telephoned him at his office, he was often at the Elks Club for lunch which extended into afternoon card games. His first wife was a Hungarian called Magda, by whom he had a daughter and a son (who predeceased him). He and Magda divorced and his second marriage was to a widow, Silja, who is Danish. They had one child: a son called Dana who is now married with children of his own. Norm died in hospital on 23 July 2018 after cancer had spread from his stomach to his liver. Despite his failing health, he and Silja attended Vancouver Numismatic Society meetings up to the beginning of this year.

On the numismatic front, Norm was a part-time dealer and participant in shows as well as having a booth in a weekly flea market in Vancouver. He had a particular interest in B.C. trade tokens, but collected a wide variety of currency, including odd and curious mediums of exchange and political "banknotes". At coin shows he would wear a shirt that depicted coins and, sometimes, wore a necklace of bear claws and beads. Norm was an enthusiastic promoter of our hobby. He was president of the Canadian Numismatic Association [1971-73], twice president of the Vancouver Numismatic Society [1962-64 and 1990-94], bourse chairman for many years and my mentor when I took over management of the annual coin show in 1994 and, then, the Vancouver Numismatic Society presidency in 1995 (which lasted 14 years). Norm was also on an advisory committee to appraise Royal Canadian Mint coin designs. He had been a member of the VNS since 1960 and was always willing to step in to keep the VNS going, as he did in 1990 when most of the executive disappeared and the club was in danger of collapsing. His concern for the club's future dominated our last conversations. No newspaper obituary was published after his death and readers will, I hope, forgive me for relying on my memory to reconstruct his life. He deserved better.

Peter Moogk



This is a picture of Norm reading the name of the prize draw winner on the stage of the Oakridge Auditorium at our annual Vancouver Numismatic Society coin show in 1993. He is wearing his trademark necklace of bear claws and beads.

Editor's Note;

This memorial to Norm Williams is reprinted with the authors permission from the October 2018 Vancouver Numismatic Society newsletter.

DEDICATED NUMISMATIST WALTER ALLAN WAS ALSO A FAVOURITE UNCLE AND SMALL-BUSINESS OWNER

by Susan Allan (Walter Allan's niece)

Reprinted from *The Globe and Mail*, December 4, 2018

It only made sense that Walt would serve as unofficial guardian of our family history. A lifelong pack-rat, he kept everything—old car keys, expired calendars, every single sales receipt; a butterfly collection started as a child and, literally, thousands of photos of clouds he'd snapped with his little red Nikon.

Like many born during the Great Depression, Walt could not throw anything away. At the end of his life, he had 11 alarm clocks in his small home. A few of them even worked.

From childhood until retirement, Walter worked at Allan's Drug Store, the Lake Shore Boulevard pharmacy that his parents purchased in 1939. Even as a kid, he knew everyone in the town of Bronte, Ont., (now part of Oakville)—with thanks to his *Globe and Mail* paper route. Open even on Christmas Day, pharmacy hours always informed the timing of the turkey dinner.

His father, Donald, served as druggist, councilman, school trustee and volunteer fireman. With two brothers and a sister, Walt grew up with the town of Bronte and became its greatest champion.

A graduate of the pharmacy school at the University of Toronto, Walter took over dispensing duties after his father died in 1974. He worked alongside his mother until the late 1980s when they sold the family business during the rise of the drugstore chains.

Walt was an exuberant collector of stamps and coins, but also rocks, marbles, maps, pharmacy paraphernalia, seashells, cameras and, especially, anything connected to Bronte's roots. In 1988, he spearheaded a campaign to save the Sovereign House, a heritage home that would become a showcase of local history.

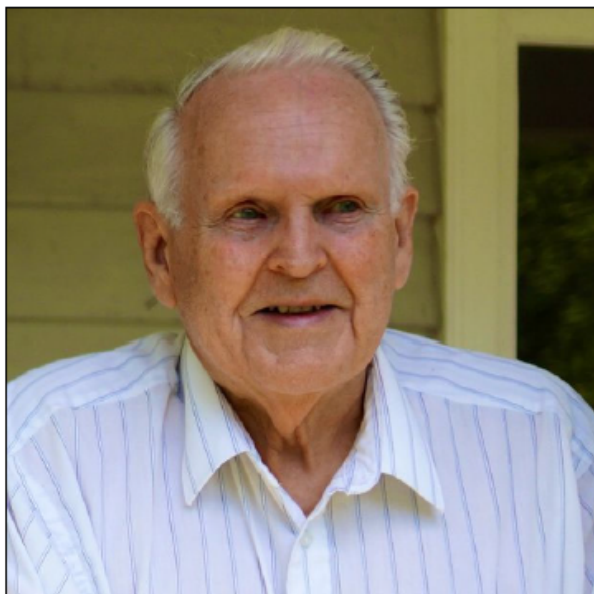
Around that time, Walter left his hometown to live in an isolated cottage on the shores of Lake Huron, about three-and-a-half hours north. The local Oakville paper wrote a feature on his departure. He was asked why he was leaving his home of 59 years. "Bronte isn't here any more," he said of a harbour community transformed by town homes and luxury condos.

Walt did not marry or have children, but he delighted nieces and nephews with birthday cards and parcels that arrived plastered in postage of all denominations and a handwritten appeal: "COLLECT STAMPS!" His oddball offerings included unopened geodes, polished gemstones, Happy Meal toys in original packaging, and maybe a DVD featuring the latest voyage of the *Starship Enterprise*.

By far his greatest passion was for collecting and cataloguing paper money, rare bank notes and vignettes. A distinguished expert, he led the Canadian Paper Money Society from 1993 to 1995 and was later named the Honorary President.

In July, 2017, he left his Tobermory home for the annual gathering of the Royal Canadian Numismatic Association in Boucherville, Que. He never made it. Walter's car was later found abandoned in a farmer's field an hour east of the convention. Police searched for days. They ended their investigation several months later, though he was never found.

He leaves behind an older brother, a younger sister, nieces, nephews and their children. So now we are the safe-keepers of family history, and this story of Walter is just the first of many we will tell.



Walter Douglas Allan: Pharmacist. Numismatist. Cloud watcher. Collector. Born July 30, 1933, in Toronto; disappeared July 18, 2017, in Quebec, now presumed dead; aged 84.

Editor's Note;

This memorial was previously printed in the CPMS Journal December 2018 page 106.

Freeman Clowery (1923-2018)

By Warren Baker, FCNRS



The numismatic community has lost one of its passionate old-time collectors. Freeman Clowery passed away April 11, 2018 at Lennoxville, Quebec. He had lived a long life, much of which was devoted to his numismatic pursuits. Of his 95 years, at least 60 of them were devoted to collecting and research. His most important interest, however, was the collecting and study of the Governor General medals, as well as those of the Lieutenant Governors which were issued by seven of the Canadian provinces. His first book, concerning the medals of the Lieutenant-Governors, was self-published in Sherbrooke in 1972 and both describes and illustrates 57 medals. As Freeman mentioned in his page of Acknowledgements: "Contacts have been made with the Office of the Lieutenant-Governors of each of our Provinces, many Associations, collectors, dealers, and private citizens..." That work was dedicated to his wife Fran who accompanied him on his numismatic, antique, and ephemera scouting trips. Freeman's medals of Canada's Governors General were donated to Government House in Ottawa, and he became an instant friend of most of the persons representing that office. His work on that subject was self-published in Sherbrooke in 1981. The quest for historical artifacts of his hometown, Sherbrooke, both city and county, was another one of his passions and most of those objects were later donated to one or more of the institutions in Sherbrooke.

Freeman and Fran were avid "birders," as he facetiously termed it, and he was really quite adept in his imitations of several bird calls. Unfortunately, he lost his constant companion, Fran, much too early on, in March 1989. His son Wayne also caught the collecting bug from his father and formed a rather interesting collection of Ships, Colonies and Commerce tokens which included the very scarce Lees 13. In the 70s and 80s it was still possible to find unusual and scarce types in the ever-present junk boxes, rarely seen these days. When a new archivist was sought for the Bank of Montreal at its head office on St. James Street in Montreal around 1972 Freeman took over that position. The Bank's museum underwent improvements, in part due to his familiarity with numismatics. The main part of the employment, however, was custodian and researcher on any topic for the officers of the bank, whether from the bank's early or present periods. He retired in 1985 but continued in an unofficial capacity for about another ten years.

Freeman joined the Canadian Numismatic Association in January 1961. His application for membership was likely sponsored by his friend, Doug Ferguson. When Doug passed away in 1981, both Freeman and Sheldon Carroll acted as his executors. Freeman was very proud to have been distinguished with the Ferguson Award gold medal in 2005 for his work on medals of Governors General and Lieutenant Governors of Canada and the Provinces.

**“DOLLARS” FOR THE BANK
THE ORIGINS OF SILVER TO THE BANK OF ENGLAND**

by
Wm. N. Clarke, FRNS, FCNRS



Fig. 1. Octagonal countermark of George III on Charles IIII, 8 reales, 1795 F.M. Mexico City Mint.
(All illustrations enlarged approximately 45 percent.)

The paper “The Bank of England Countermarked Dollars 1797 and 1804” printed in the 2016 edition of the *Transactions* of the Canadian Numismatic Research Society has left for further consideration two important questions. Firstly, the numbers and sources of Spanish dollars that entered Britain during the period 1786 to 1804 and secondly, the known dates and mints of the Spanish dollars countermarked for the Bank of England in 1797 and 1804.

Information regarding the origins of the Spanish dollars, their transport to England and ultimate destination is, for the most part, sadly lacking. Two reasons, in particular, account for this, namely, public records before 1799 when the *Naval Chronicle* was first published are scarce, while few references regarding the import of dollars are noted after 1805 following the failure of the second issue of countermarked dollars by the Bank of England in 1804.

During the latter two decades of the eighteenth century, silver coinage in Britain reached a very low ebb. Although no Five- or Two-guinea coins were struck during the reign of George III (1760-1820), guineas and half-guineas were struck in quantity from 1761 until 1799 with a Third-guinea struck from 1797 to 1813 and a Quarter-guinea dated 1762 only. By 1805, Spanish dollars were generally accepted by the British merchants and bankers and with this continuous and adequate supply of gold and a large issue of copper pence, half pence and farthings in 1806/7 the needs of the general public were, for the most part, met.

During 1792, the impending war with France did little to help the economy. Bankruptcies were occurring across the country and although overseas trade was increasing along with growth in both agriculture and industry, so with this came a rise in the cost of living, prices, labour and public debt.

The French Wars of 1793-1815 were to place a drain on the coffers of the Bank of England never before seen. In 1794 William Pitt made the first of many requests for the Bank “to make an advance” to the Government. The Governor of the Bank agreed; however, as further requests were received, the directors objected and suggested that the Government might call upon other banking houses such as Child’s or Drummond’s for

loans under current circumstances (Bk. of Eng. rept. 1798). There is no record of any report being made beyond those to the Bank of England (Kelly 1976: 12).

The Government was facing huge expenses on three fronts. Large amounts of gold and silver were being exported to shore-up the support of vacillating foreign allies (Kelly 1976: 13) while expenditures abroad by the Royal Navy and the Army both on the Continent and in the West Indies placed a severe drain on the resources of the Treasury and the Bank of England. A continuous supply of silver was required to fund the War effort.

The six year period, 1799-1804 does, however, cover the years which saw the highest influx of dollars, conservatively estimated at five million dollars (excluding gold and silver bullion), enter Britain either by capture at sea or by purchase in the markets at Hamburg, in Portugal, and in the West Indies.

On October 5, 1796, Spain, Britain's former ally in the war against France, declared war thus opening another source for silver – prize ships – a situation well taken advantage of by the Royal Navy.

A lucrative and sometimes illegal trade by merchants and private speculators along with a fairly well organized trade in dollars smuggled out of Spanish ports by officers and men of His Majesty's ships, most of which were to be sold to agents at the post of arrival, all added to the numbers of dollars flowing into Britain (Thompson BNJ 1957).

Spanish dollars flowed into Britain through a variety of sources. They continued to circulate freely and the introduction of the Bank of England dollar dated 1804, which continued to be struck until 1811, and the Bank's two silver token issues in denominations of three shillings and eighteen pence struck from 1811 to 1816 helped to provide an adequate silver coinage until the issues of George the Third's "New Coinage" of 1816-1820.

The following list, to be no way considered complete, gives a general outline of the numbers of dollars received and their sources through purchase, trade or capture by the Royal Navy for the years 1786 to 1804.

PARTIAL LISTING OF SPANISH DOLLARS
ACQUIRED BY BRITAIN
1786-1804

- | | |
|------|---|
| 1786 | British merchant ship from Corunna, 40,000 Spanish dollars. Landed at Exmouth with dollars sent to Exeter merchants. (<i>A Mariner of England, 1780-1817</i> , autobiography of Wm. Richardson, ed. Col. Spencer. London: Childers, 1908.) |
| 1794 | From <i>H.M.S. Gorgon</i> , Lieut. J.A. Gardner estimate of 50,000 smuggled illegally from Cadiz. (<i>Recollections of James Anthony Gardner</i> , Navy Record Society, Vol. xxi [1906].) |
| 1799 | October 15. 2,811,526 dollars from Spanish treasure frigates <i>Thetis</i> and <i>Santa Brigida</i> from Vera Cruz, Mexico, to Spain, taken off Ferrol by H.M. frigates <i>Naiad</i> , <i>Ethalion</i> , and <i>Triton</i> landed, Plymouth, destination, Bank of England, London. (BNJ 38/69.) |

November 26. 160,000 dollars, part of treasure taken from Spanish ships by *H.M.S. Eurydice* and *H.M.S. Melampus* to be taken to Guernsey to pay the British and Russian troops. (*Naval Chronicle*, ii, 1799: 638.)

121,000 dollars. Letter of Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, C. in C. Leeward Islands Station (West Indies) to Evan Napean, Secretary to the Admiralty, from Spanish schooner *Conception* from La Vera Cruz to Havannah. destination, Bank of England, London. (*Naval Chronicle*, iii, 1800: 68.)

1800 17,943 dollars taken from three Dutch vessels from Java to Ternate by *H.M.S. Virginie*, destination: Admiralty Prize Courts at Calcutta, India, (*Naval Chronicle*, v, 1804. East India Reports).

There are no reports for 1801-03 due mainly to the Peace of Amiens 1802 – 03.

1804 25,000 dollars from the French privateer *La Caridad* taken by *H.M.S. Desirée*, on the Jamaica station, destination: Bank of England, London. (*BNJ* 38, 1969: 168.)

March. 540,000 purchased on the Hamburg market by the Bank of England Treasury Committee through Thornton and Bagley, merchant traders (Kelly 1976: 51). Samuel Thornton, ex. Governor of the Bank was a member of the Committee of Treasury.

March 27. 581,000 dollars from two Spanish ships taken by *H.M.S. Pallas*, Capt. Lord Cochrane. The *Fortuna* from Vera Cruz held 452,000 dollars, the second unrecorded. (Plymouth Papers in W. Tute, *Cochrane*. London: Cassels, 1965).

May 31. “ a large quantity (est. 250,000 dollars) landed at Plymouth from *H.M.S. Aeolus*, Lord A. Fitzroy from Jamaica, forward to London. Official purchase from Spanish authorities at Vera Cruz by British Government agents. (*Naval Chronicle*, xii, 1804 [Portsmouth Report].)

June – July. 160,000 dollars taken from three French coastal luggers sailing from Corunna to France by armed schooner *Felix* under Lieutenant Bourne. Dollars were mainly from Spanish mints of Madrid and Seville. Landed at Plymouth for transport to the Bank of England, London. (*Naval Chronicle*, xii, 1804.)

September – October. Capture or destruction of four Spanish treasure frigates, *Media*, *Fama*, *Mercedes*, and *Clara* by H.M. Ships *Indefatigable*, *Medusa*, and *Lively* on September 30, 1804.

<i>Media</i>	1,447,559	dollars
<i>Fama</i>	346,597	“
<i>Clara</i>	<u>234,694</u>	“
	2,028,850	

The Spanish frigate *Mercedes* recorded as carrying a further 811,000 dollars was blown up and lost during the action. The Spanish ships from La Plata and Montevideo were taken off the coast of Spain and landed at Plymouth on October 19, 1804 (with treasure) to be sent to the Bank of England under escort of the 4th Dragoon guards. (letters, Captain Moore, *H.M.S. Indefatigable*, to Admiral Cornwallis, Plymouth Sound, October 19, 1804.)

40,000 dollars from the Spanish brig *El Guixolenza* from Havana escorted to Plymouth by the *Maidstone*, frigate. (*Naval Chronicle*, xii, 1804, Plymouth Report.)

October 20. 400,000 (£100,000) in dollars and bullion arrived Portsmouth this date on the ship *Spy* for Mr. Hurry, merchant of Gosport, “being successful produce of a cargo of British Manufacturers” traded in South America. Deposit in the Gosport Bank to await transport to the Bank of England “under strong guard”. (*Naval Chronicle*, xii, 1804. Portsmouth Reports.)

December 29. 60,000 dollars landed by *H.M.S. Malta* from Ferrol, Spain, a consignment from Spanish merchants to their correspondents in London. Dollars mostly from the Spanish mints at Madrid and Seville. Deposit at Russell’s Warehouse, Plymouth, for transport to London. (*Naval Chronicle*, xiii, 1805.)

Of interest is the mint sources of the dollars and the range of dates of the countermarked coins for the two issues of 1797 (oval) and 1804 (octagonal). The vast majority of these coins were struck during the reigns of the Spanish kings, Charles III, 1759-1788, and Charles IV, 1788-1808. Most of the dollars were from the Spanish American mints of Mexico, Lima and Potosi, while the Madrid, Spain, mint accounts for the majority of half dollars as indicated in the following charts.



Fig. 2. Oval countermark of George III on Charles III, 4 reales, 1788 C. Seville, Spain Mint

Charles III 1759-1788
Countermarked Dollars

Lima		Madrid		Mexico		Potosi		Santiago		Seville	
OVAL	OCT'L	OVAL	OCT'L	OVAL	OCT'L	OVAL	OCT'L	OVAL	OCT'L	OVAL	OCT'L
				1771							
				1772	1772						
	1773			1773							
		1774									
				1775						1775	
1776		1776				1776					
		1777		1777		1777					
1778				1778	1778	1778					
				1779	1779	1779	1779				
1780				1780		1780					
1781				1781		1781	1781				
1782				1782	1782	1782					
				1783		1783					
1784				1784		1784	1784				
				1785	1785						
				1786	1786						
				1787		1787					
				1788		1788	1788	1788			
				1790							

Charles III 1759-1788
Countermarked Half Dollars

Lima		Madrid		Mexico		Potosi		Santiago		Seville	
OVAL	OCT'L	OVAL	OCT'L	OVAL	OCT'L	OVAL	OCT'L	OVAL	OCT'L	OVAL	OCT'L
										(1761)	
				1773						1773	
						1774	1774				
		1775				1775					1775
1776	1776	1776				1776					
		1777								1777	
		1778	1778			1778		1778			
		1779	1779			1779					
				1780		1780				1780	1780
		1781									
		1782									
		1784		1784		1784					
						1786		1786			
		1788								1788	
						1792					

Supplies of dollars and half dollars were received by the Mint from the Bank of England. The Mint, which had no precedent for counterstamping, would strike whatever pieces they received from the Bank, which included United States dollars, écus of Louis XVI of France and five franc pieces of the new French Republic. The question of refusing to strike these pieces was never raised and it would seem that the only objection appears in a letter of complaint by “military authorities” who preferred some uniformity (Kelly 1976: 24). The Current Cash Account covering March to May 1797 shows half dollars in twenty-eight of the sixty entries and one entry records quarter dollars. These were used to make up bag weight to an even 1,000 ounces Troy of coins sent to the mint (Bull 2015: 272).

It has now been shown that oval puncheons were sent to a number of Exchanges in various Provincial cities throughout England. From the numbers of fractional dollar denominations now extant, it is highly probable that most of these pieces with genuine countermarks on genuine coins were countermarked at the provincial Exchanges. It is argued that if a local merchant, mill owner or banker brought in a quantity of genuine Spanish or Spanish American coins which might include a few French or other foreign pieces of good weight, it would be highly unlikely that local officials would refuse to mark them (Manville 2001:6).

It is well known that many of these pieces were counterfeited, with all combinations of good and false countermarks on genuine and false coins contemporary to the official issues. There was also a great trade in “made for collectors” pieces, particularly during the late 19th and early 20th centuries; the general rule is “the more exotic the coin the more likely is was concocted for collectors” (Bull 2015: 272).

The following pages list the years and mints of the fraction denominations of the dollar, the quarter, eighth, and sixteenth dollar of the bust type II of Charles III (1759-88) and Charles IV (1788-1808).

BUST TYPE II



Fig. 3. Oval countermark of George III on Charles III, 2 reales, 1781 D.A. Santiago, Chile Mint.

QUARTER DOLLAR (2 REALES)Oval countermark 1797

Charles III	Lima	1776 : 1786
	Madrid	1780 : 1782
	Mexico	1774 : 1781 (false cmk) : 1790
	Potosi	1778
	Santiago	1781 (in question)
Charles IV	Mexico	1790

Octagonal countermark 1804

Charles III	Mexico	1783
Charles IV	Lima	1793 : 1797 (false cmk)

EIGHTH DOLLAR (1 REALE)Oval countermark 1797

Charles III	Lima	1772 : 1772 (false cmk)
	Madrid	1782
	Mexico	1772 : 1773

SIXTEENTH DOLLAR (1/2 REALE))Oval countermark 1797

Charles III	Madrid	1783
	Mexico	1773 : 1781

"PILLAR" TYPE 1. 1742-1783

=====

All type 1 "dollars" show oval countermarks

DOLLARS

Philip V	Mexico	1742 : 1745
Ferdinand VI	Mexico	1754
Charles III	Lima	1772
	Mexico	1761 : 1771 : 1783
	Potosi	1770

HALF DOLLAR (4 REALES)

Philip V	Mexico	1738
----------	--------	------

QUARTER DOLLAR (2 REALES)

Unrecorded.

EIGHTH DOLLAR (1 REALE)

Ferdinand VII	Mexico	1755
---------------	--------	------

SIXTEENTH DOLLAR (1/2 REALE)

Ferdinand VII Mexico 1748 : 1755

FRANCE (oval countermarks)

Louis XV	Ecu	Pau	1761
Louis XVI	Ecu	Toulouse	1784 : 1786, 1790 , 1792, 1794, 1796
	Ecu	Pau	1786
	Ecu	Bayonne	1792
	Ecu	Paris	1792
Republic	5 franc		1797 (false cmk)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Dollars	1798 : 1799 (octagonal)
Half dollars	1795 (oval)

TUSCANY

Ferdinand III 10 Paoli, Pisa 1794 (oval)

NAPLES – SICILY

Ferdinand IV Piastra (scude) 1788 (oval)

BRAZIL

Jaoa VI 960 Reis 1815

An oval countermark on a Spanish American “dollar” stamped in England, 1797, re-crossed the Atlantic to be over-stamped as an 1815, 960 reis of Brazil (Kelly 1976: pl. viii).

Acknowledgments

I am extremely grateful for the help and constructive advice received from Chris Faulkner concerning the content of the article; Len Buth and Scott Douglas in the preparation of the text; and to Ted Leitch for his care in photographing the illustrations. All coins illustrated are from the author's collection.

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A Communion Token's Fall from Grace
by
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Fig. 1. McLachlan 166, Bowman 204, CH NS306.

The following saga will trace the twisted path of a countermarked copper piece once included in the works of eminent Canadian numismatists as a communion token. After 33 years as a token of the church, it was called into doubt by two “well known collectors” and, though eventually dropped from the list, was in limbo – not quite in, and not quite out – for another 76 years out of respect to those who came earlier. And then it was dropped entirely.

My intent is simply to lay out the chain of events that I feel lead to the disallowance of its status as a communion token. There will be side trips along the trail to take in some of the more interesting viewpoints.

Chronology

The token was first listed by R. W. McLachlan in January 1890, as a Nova Scotia communion token in *The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal*. This serialized work was later released in book form as *Canadian Communion Tokens* in 1891. There were no illustrations. He described our subject thus:

166: St. P for S(ain)t P(aul's) in an oblong oval.

Reverse. Plain. Metal copper, round 27 m.

This token is a small “countermark” struck over an old copper worn so smooth that hardly anything of the original design is visible.

In 1892 Dr. Joseph LeRoux¹ released his illustrated work on Canadian numismatics, listing McLachlan's no. 166 as:

¹ Though usually spelled “Leroux”, his name appears in the cited work as “LeRoux”, which form is carried on throughout this paper.

463y. *Obv.*: St. P(aul's Church, Truro). *Rev.* Plain, size 18², rarity 5, copper.



463y

Fig. 2. LeRoux's illustration

In 1924 the Rev. George A. MacLennan published his work on Canadian Communion Tokens. Regarding this piece, he said (using both the McLachlan number and style of the mark):

No. 166. Truro, N. S. St. P.

This is not a token, but a copper coin stamped 'St. P.' and is one of many similar trade coins found by numismatists. This one belongs to St. Pierre, West Indies, and has been so identified beyond doubt by Mr. L. A. Renaud of Montreal and Mr. Kain of St. John, N. B., well known collectors.

Fred Bowman, in *Communion Tokens of the Presbyterian Church in Canada* (1965), quoted MacLennan word for word, and commented: "This is a controversial token. It is overstamped on old and worn copper coins. A few have been found in Canada but they are very rare. McLachlan and LeRoux both show them as belonging to Truro." He seems to have straddled the fence on the issue, but his inclusion of it despite the controversy shows he would probably fall off on the communion token side if pushed. His friendship with Renaud may have moderated his wording, but the key point is that he listed it in his book on communion tokens as no. 204.

The Charlton Standard Catalogue of Canadian Communion Tokens (1992), paraphrased George MacLennan, but included the piece as NS-306, probably due to Bowman having included it as well. It was dropped from the millennium edition in 2000.

Bob Merchant collected communion tokens from all over the world. He sold the major part of his collection in five parts via Simmons Gallery in London from February 2013, to June 2015. His Canadian section was offered through Geoffrey Bell Auctions on April 21, 2016. Lot 395 of the latter contained one ST: P. countermark on a British half penny token of 1789. (It also included a fake copy, identified as such by Merchant.) This very serious collector of communion tokens saw this as a legitimate Communion Token.

² LeRoux was using the common size classification of sixteenths of an inch, in 2/16ths increments. A token or coin between 16.1 and 18.0 sixteenths was classed as size 18. This is equal to a range of 25.55875 to 28.575 millimetres. McLachlan was in agreement at 27 *m[m]*.

Creswell (1985) and Burzinski (1999) were two serious collectors of worldwide communion tokens who chose not to include McLachlan's no. 166 (Bowman 204). Their respective decisions appear to have been based mainly on Bowman's comment, which was influenced by MacLennan's statement, who in turn had relied entirely on what Renaud and Kain had said. The fallacy of blind reliance on the word (or reputation) of others is summed up by Larry Gingras (1965): "It's anybody's guess how many people have been led astray by thinking that 'two well-known writers made the same statement therefore it must be right.'"

Renaud and Kain

What was it that led those two "well known collectors" to dismiss the token 34 years after McLachlan had listed it as a communion token? They need to be vetted to understand their decisions. MacLennan named them: they were L.A. Renaud of Montreal, and W.A. Kain of "St. John, N. B."³

Léon Adolphe Renaud (1879-1954) joined the ANA in 1909, became Second Vice-president, and then First Vice-president. He was appointed to dispose of the assets of the late P. N. Breton in the spring of 1918, and subsequently was able to acquire his business and much of his collection. He became the curator of the numismatic collection at the Château de Ramezay in 1934, taking over from P.O. Tremblay. He is also said to have been a good friend of Fred Bowman (*The Numismatist* 1909: 87; 1918: 234, 258).

L.A. Renaud of Montreal did not leave a legacy collection of communion tokens; in fact, very little if anything links him to that particular field. But he was an enthusiastic student of numismatics and was acquainted with all of the major players in the field. He attended the ANA annual conventions and became the District Secretary for Quebec in 1922, (*The Numismatist* 1922: 602) the same year in which he was appointed joint custodian of R.W. McLachlan's collection, then owned by the Château de Ramezay. This, with Breton's former collection, gave him access to two of the more prestigious cabinets of early Canadian material, which now included a quantity of communion tokens. The Reverend George MacLennan, also living in Montreal, was compiling his book on communion tokens at that time. Renaud, with McLachlan's collection at hand, and as the District Secretary of the prestigious ANA, would be an obvious choice of contact on the topic. This can explain why Renaud was consulted, but does not address his opinion on the token. More on that later, but first we need to think about Kain in New Brunswick.

A letter exists from Wm. A. Kain of Saint John to Reverend J.E. Reid in Toronto, trying to secure an elusive communion token for his nearly complete collection. He claimed to have 225 of them, out of what he said was 240 for all of Canada. This was written in 1918 with the return address of 116 Germain Street, Saint John.

³The city's name is properly Saint John. However, common practice often abbreviates it to St. John.

116 Germain Street
St John N.B.
Oct 5/18

Rev J. E. Reid. M. A.
Toronto
ont.

Dear Sir

Kindly pardon me taking your valuable time, I am making a Collection of the old Metal Communion tokens, out of 240 ^{original} tokens for all Canada I have collected 225, there is one token of Toronto I am anxious to obtain it is like this sketch R.P.C. this token was used in the Reformed Presbyterian congregation I will gladly pay whatever the Church would be profic of these R.P.C. tokens I know I am intruding on your valuable time but I beg that you will give me just a few minutes to look into this matter for me, hoping you will be able to assist in some way, and thanking you in advance, I am Very Truly yours,

Wm A. Kain

Fig. 3. Kain's letter to Rev. Reid. (Courtesy Scott Douglas)

In the Jeffrey Hoare Auctions No. 17, 1990, lot 1574, were two Quebec communion tokens on a card sent to "Mr. W.A. Kain of St. John, NB (one of the leading communion token collectors of the time)." It was from William P. Tanner, pastor of Zion Church, Dundee PQ, and was also addressed to 116 Germain St.

These two postal clues confirm Kain's ardour in collecting the tokens and shows he was actively pursuing the completion of a major collection. Given his zealous pursuit, there is every reason to believe he was one of the more knowledgeable collectors of the series. He probably wrote to other clerics of the Presbyterian Church in search of tokens he needed. At some point he crossed the path of the Rev. George MacLennan. Such a situation must have been especially welcome to one equally eager in the field who was compiling a book on the subject. We do know that these two collectors communicated. MacLennan spoke highly of Kain in the Foreword to his book, in regard to both generosity and knowledge. Kain had contributed to MacLennan's collection from his own spares. He was aware that Kain had the "exceedingly rare" St. Andrew's token of St. John, NB (Bowman 235, McLachlan 194, and recently NB238A), and said so in the book. Even as Kain's reputation for knowledge seems justified, it does not tell us why he considered the ST: P. to be from St. Pierre in the West Indies.

Enter, Howland Wood and the West Indies connection.

West Indies

To gain the proper perspective on this we need to make a detour. In 1914 the Rev. Dr. Foster Ely took front page honours of the January edition of *The Numismatist*. His short 6¼ page article entitled “A Numismatic Quest from United States Cents to Coinage of the Antilles” anticipated and possibly precipitated Howland Wood’s efforts along the same line (*The Numismatist* 1914: 1-7). Ely actually questions why a man of Wood’s talent had not taken up the subject of the cut and countermarked coins of the West Indies. Ely makes no mention of the ST: P. mark, but he leads us to the next player.

In 1915 Howland Wood showed that he had indeed taken up the subject, and in detail, when he published “The Coinage of the West Indies” through the American Numismatic Society’s *American Journal of Numismatics* (AJN), an annual publication of research from the preceding year, in this case, 1914. Wood was also a member of the ANA, holding various posts over the years, including Associate Editor, General Secretary, and Chairman of the Board of Governors, and was accredited therein as an expert on Oriental coinage. His was an esteemed opinion in the day. The September issue of *The Numismatist* of that year carried a review of the AJN just mentioned. Heavy praise for the content included:

Perhaps the most complete description ever published on the subject (at least in the English language) is the monograph on “The Coinage of the West Indies, With Special Reference to the Cut and Counterstamped Pieces,” by Howland Wood ... [which] describes the cut or countermarked pieces used on each of the islands separately, collectors of this interesting series of coins will find in this monograph much information that is new and helpful. One hundred and thirty-one illustrations appear in the text and a list of the countermarks is added (*The Numismatist* 1915: 322).

A perusal of the publication reveals that there were three different countermarks listed and described as specifically for the town of St. Pierre, in Martinique. These were: “ST.PE”, “SP”, and “SP” in monogram. These hold a certain similarity to the ST: P. mark when simply listed in this manner, but they are not the same. No illustrations were provided for these.

Monsieur E. Zay (1892) of Paris wrote, in French naturally, a comprehensive description on the same topic, prompting the allusion in the above quotation to “in the English language.” His was the ground-breaking study of this particular facet of world coinage, and he was the first to publish anything on the French colonial issues. When Howland Wood compiled his own listings, he gave credit to Zay for the information regarding those islands, and to Robert Chalmers, London, for the British. In addition, as a footnote to his title, he also stated that his “notes have been made largely from the extensive collection ... in the Cabinet of The American Numismatic Society.” Zay had listed only one of the three marks assigned to St. Pierre by Wood. That one was, without illustration, the countermark of “ST.PE”.

The other two marks listed by Wood were added by the latter without further reference, and must have been found in the collections of the ANS.

Howland Wood had been a member of the Boston Numismatic Society since 1906, and in 1913 went to New York as curator of the ANS collection. Two years after Wood's monograph on the countermarks and cut coinage associated with the West Indies, a "new" piece was announced. At the June 15, 1917, meeting of the BNS, Dr. Malcolm Storer, society president and numismatist of renown in his own right, showed a "St. Pierre, Martinique piece with the counterstamp ST: P. (*slightly different from any hitherto reported*)" (emphasis added). This news was carried in *The Numismatist* in July, which appears to have been the first relatively accurate description in American numismatic literature of the piece McLachlan had said was a communion token used in Truro, Nova Scotia (*The Numismatist* 1917: 300). The slight difference was the colon. None of the "St. Pierre" pieces – any of them – was described with a colon after the T. But McLachlan's description of his no. 166 was imprecise in this regard too, as he used a lower case "t", and we do not see that punctuation there. It is ironic that the most accurate depiction of the countermark was to be provided by Kain a few years later.

It is significant that the exhibited countermark was different from any "*hitherto reported.*" Those reported were of course the three versions in Howland Wood's monograph, and this one made four. Wood made no comment. Even though he had not listed one exactly as "ST: P.", his lack of disagreement with the "different" piece is by itself a sort of agreement. LeRoux, however, had illustrated the piece and showed it fairly accurately. The subsequent "discovery" of this "different" countermark than those in Wood's list, a match to LeRoux's illustration, and with the renowned Howland Wood to back it with his silence as a West Indian would appear conclusive. From the 1917 publication of the "new" variety in *The Numismatist* can be traced the common thread for both Renaud's and Kain's opinion of the token. Renaud was a member of long standing in the ANA and must have been aware of the Storer find.

The Saint John Link

William Allan Kain does not appear to have been a member of the ANA, but he had plenty of opportunity to be aware of the news and views in *The Numismatist*. W.A. Kain lived in humble settings at 139 Elliott Row in the old family dwelling built by his father. From various directories, we learn that he sold antiques at 116 Germain Street from at least 1914 to 1926.



Fig. 4. 116 Germain St. Kain's antique furniture store.



Fig. 5. 139 Elliott Row.

There were three members of the ANA living in Saint John during his years of operating the antique store: W.B. Tennant had joined in January 1909; John Kerr in August of the same year (*The Numismatist* 1909: 85, 249); and Dr. Leigh Langstroth in 1921 (*The Numismatist* 1921: 105). Kerr lived the farthest away, yet still within walking distance of Kain's store, and Tennant's office was a mere block and a half away. Langstroth was two blocks away in the other direction. Kain's store would have been a conveniently central place to compare notes.

Kain advertised in *The Numismatist* on at least two occasions, the first time was in 1913: "Mr. W. A. Kain of St. John, NB, would like to know of a Catalogue that gives the prices for all the Krueger gold and silver coins" (*The Numismatist* 1913: 335). The nature of the request signifies a serious collector. But if he was not a member of the ANA, he would have had to obtain the address from someone who was. A prime suspect has to be Tennant.

William Tennant lived at 70 Orange Street in the late 1910s and 1920s. His advertisement in the Saint John City Directory for 1923 lists his business address as 14 King Street, a short stroll from Kain's shop. He was quite successful, having owned the Anglo-Canadian Fire Insurance Company, managed the Maritime Lime Company, and at one time was owner of Ready's Beveridges Ltd., later known as New Brunswick Breweries. He and Kain had a lot in common besides collecting. Both were sons of Irish immigrants, and both were Methodists. In fact, Tennant was a Methodist minister in his early days, relying on selling fire insurance and real estate later. Kain's antique store was between Tennant's house and his office.



Fig. 6. 1 Jones & Schofield; 2 W.B. Tennant's office and 3 W.A. Kain's antique store.
Map reproduction courtesy of the Norman B. Leventhal Map Center at the Boston Public Library.

The common denominator of Renaud's and Kain's opinion regarding the token with the countermark "ST: P." was not Howland Wood's work on Caribbean coinage. Wood had not listed that mark as belonging to Martinique. In fact, he had not listed it at all. Nor had Ely, Zay, Duffield, or anyone else. The only one who said this particular countermark was from St. Pierre, Martinique, was Dr. Storer. The conclusion the readers of that news would come to, in the face of no opposition to the claim at all, was foregone. We, however, are left with Gingras' observation -that perhaps too much reliance was placed on two well-known collectors, who had both been influenced by one high ranking collector in Boston having made a very broad assumption about a countermark based solely it would seem on the letters it contained.

Kain's Quest

From the letter reproduced above we see that Kain was a serious collector of communion tokens. He informed the Rev. Reid that he had very nearly completed the entire set of 240 pieces, and he only needed 15 more. That note of 1918 tells us some interesting points. First, that he was following McLachlan's 1891 list, which numbered 241 different issues, and not LeRoux who had only listed 237. And, second, that he had dropped one token -- no. 166 -- from that list, which undoubtedly was a result of the 1917 "discovery" by Dr. Storer.

That it was will soon become evident, but there is a twist to this story. As suggested, Kain most likely abandoned no. 166 in 1917, and certainly by October of 1918. He must have communicated the conviction to MacLennan about that time, or shortly after. And then a funny thing happened. In May of 1921, Kain advertised in *The Numismatist* looking for an example and describing it as a Mexican Hacienda token!

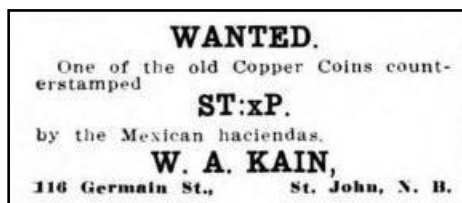


Fig. 7. *The Numismatist* 1921: 228

It is clear that he was looking for the same token known as no. 166. The details of his description are the most perfect prior to the use of a photograph we have up to that point; in fact, it was more accurate than McLachlan's description and LeRoux's drawing. On all of these tokens, there is an X, or star-like design, found between the two dots of the colon, which looks like a non-uniform triskele with three legs at odd angles. No one had ever shown it or mentioned it before. But Kain, instead of returning prodigally to the idea of it being a communion token, had shot off on a new tangent. The question of why simply has to be followed.



Was he thinking along a different line than what he informed MacLennan the token was, or was he diverting attention away from it in hopes of attaining a sample frugally? Did he change his mind, and was he now thinking it actually was a communion token? Or was he just being drawn into the newest collecting fad? We do know for certain that he collected communion tokens, but Haciendas were another field entirely. We are left to ponder his motives. Backing up a few months, we discover that M. Sorensen had authored an article on Mexican Revolutionary coinage in *The Numismatist*, which appeared in the December 1920 issue (*The Numismatist* 1920: 543-5). Kain wrote to him almost immediately (see letter reproduced below) enquiring about two plain coppers countermarked with initials, one being none other than the ST: P. Sorensen had not described either of the two pieces that Kain was curious about, but as many of those revolutionary coins bore similar countermarks Kain saw into this just what he wanted to see.

Sorensen had phrased his text in such a way as to suggest a possible alternate origin of the ST:P countermark:

...I had a selection of Mexican revolutionist coins offered me by a dealer. He described one of them as having all the lettering incused. ... This, together with the fact that I myself have recently secured a coin hitherto unknown to me, leads me to believe that Mexico may still yield surprises to the numismatist.

Kain grasped onto the possibility. Part of his letter to Sorensen was printed in the May issue of *The Numismatist* (1921: 194):

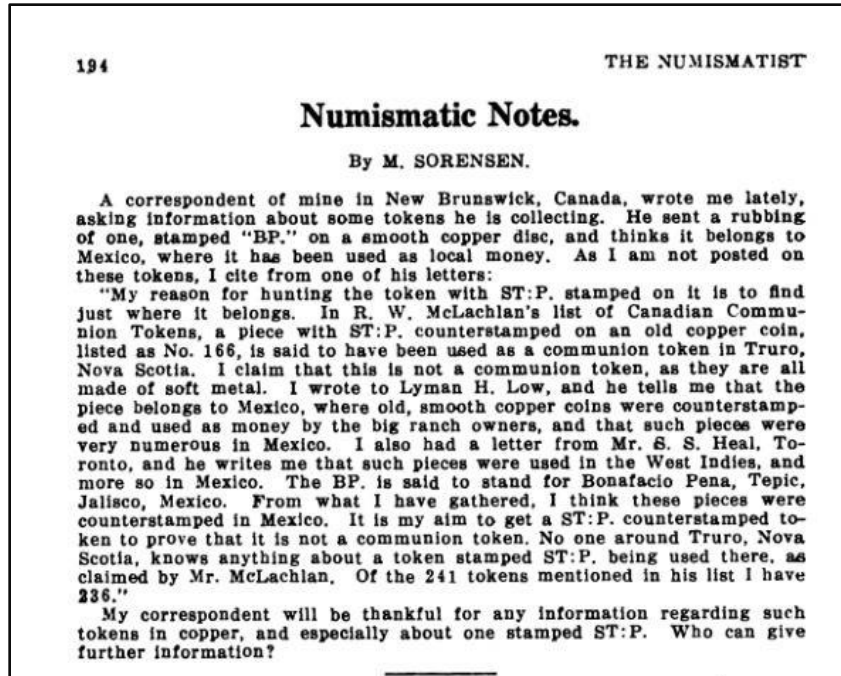


Fig. 8. From *The Numismatist*, Jan. 1921, five months prior to his advertisement calling it a Mexican Hacienda token

Frank Duffield's "Trial List" of countermarked coins which appeared in the pages of *The Numismatist* sectionally from 1919 to 1921 had not included either mark which Kain described to Sorensen, but did list several copper coins as Mexican with countermarks composed of initials (*The Numismatist* 1920: 45-48). Though Kain did not refer to Duffield in the letter, the idea may have been sown from his work, as both of the marked coins he described in his letter were simply initials on worn copper coins. He did refer to Lyman Low, and may even have had access to an 1885 sale catalogue by Messrs. Bangs & Co. of New York, written by Low. There were many countermarked copper coins in that sale, with no less than eight pieces with various initials on worn out British halfpence of George II and III and several others too worn to tell what they were. One in lot 636 was described as "STP" in an incuse stamp. The similarity to the ST: P. is obvious. Low called all of them "Haciendas".

From that letter to Sorensen, it is clear that Kain was still making a serious attempt to locate a McLachlan no. 166, and although apparently intent on proving someone wrong, he seems confused. He seems also to be obsessed with the completion of the entire 241 token set, which would include no. 166, the token he had himself discredited. Back in 1918 he had been trying to get all 240 tokens, now he wanted all 241. Back then he had not counted no. 166, but now saw it as being required. That by itself puts a different spin on his need to obtain one of them. He claimed that by having one of these subject tokens, he could somehow prove it was not a communion token. But the simple possession of a coin with ST: P. stamped on it would not in any degree prove what it was or was not. What could he hope to gain by having one? To complete the list of 241 comes to mind.

From the 1921 advertisement it is clear that Kain must have either seen one personally or had been informed very accurately of the design. He could not have got the knowledge of the “X” from another writer, because no one had ever mentioned it. Tennant may have had one. His collection when sold went intact to the Norweb family; one such token subsequently appeared in an auction of the Norweb collection, but whether the piece had come from Tennant is unknown. H. L. Doane certainly had one though.

Introducing Doane

Harold Leander Doane was born in Barrington, Nova Scotia, in 1860 and from 1883 lived the rest of his life in Truro. When W.B. Tennant applied for membership in the ANA in January 1909, his “vouchers” (supporters) were R.W. McLachlan and H.L. Doane. Doane was ANA District Secretary since 1912 until declining health intervened.

Doane was an historian and a collector. He delved into his family genealogy, collected stamps, coins, and (importantly) communion tokens. His obituary, dated January 24, 1924, stated authoritatively that he “had gathered up the most complete collection of Church Communion Tokens in Canada [which] had lately been sold.” Dr. Eugene Courteau spoke of Doane’s generosity in his booklet *The Coins and Tokens of Nova Scotia* (1910). It was Doane’s erroneously dated 1382 Nova Scotia halfpenny which was used to illustrate Co. 280 sent on loan.

It is highly probable that it was Doane who brought to McLachlan’s attention the 66 additional Nova Scotian communion tokens he listed in the new edition of 1891. In 1880 McLachlan had been aware of only three. Among the new numbers was 166, the Truro piece. That they corresponded is obvious. There is a postcard in my collection from R.W. McLachlan to Doane dated March 27, 1891, advising that he had sent “fifty cents’ worth of Communion tokens, but my book is not ready yet.”

The link in this chain that connects both ends brings us back to Saint John. From the obituary, we find that Doane had spent the 20 years from 1902 to 1922 working as a commercial traveler between Saint John and Truro for the firm of Jones & Schofield, whose offices were at 13 North Wharf, next to the docks (number 1 in red, fig. 6, above). It was but a short walk to Tennant’s office, in fact, the two places were in sight of each other. And Kain’s shop was just beyond. Doane, by the way, was also a devout Methodist.



Jones & Schofield (enlarged)



Fig. 9. Post card of “Market Slip, St. John, N. B.” by Valentine, ca. 1909. Jones & Schofield’s sign can be made out faintly, when enlarged. Their building was the one barely past the second mast of the right hand schooner. Compare with the 1882 map.

An advertisement in the January 1921 issue of *The Numismatist* offering for sale a collection of Communion Tokens (“best in the world”), almost certainly was that of H. L. Doane with his New Brunswick address. Friction between Kain and Doane shows, as most assuredly Kain wanted what Doane had, but only a very few items out of his collection, which Doane wished to sell intact. Also recall that it was in the following May issue in which Kain’s “want ad” appeared. That Doane and Kain had compared collections is a safe assumption. That is where Kain could have examined a McLachlan 166 closely enough to see the fine detail of the “X”. Further, we can make the very safe assumption that Doane had no. 166 from McLachlan’s list and, for that matter, all of the communion tokens listed for Nova Scotia. Nova Scotia’s communion tokens were given numbers 106 to 174 inclusive, none of which is on his wanted list. This fact reinforces the theory of Doane having made McLachlan aware of them in the first place.

WANTED; I will give good exchange or cash for Church Communion Tokens to complete my collection, numbers from McLachlan, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 34, 38, 43, 46, 49, 54, 56, 57, 64, 65, 66, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 79, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 94, 95, 97, 101, 104, 105, 176, 191, 195, 198, 205, 210, 213, 214, 220, 224, 231, 232, 233, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241. H. L. Doane, Box No. 7, Truro, N. S. Canada. Correspondence solicited.

Fig. 10. Doane ran this ad in 1904 *The Numismatist*.

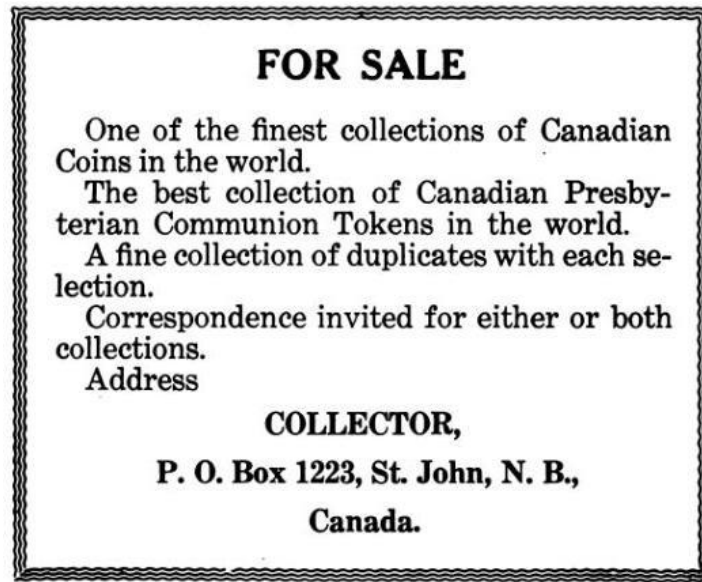


Fig. 11. The Numismatist, Jan. 1921, probably from Doane.

Kain, in an undisguised insult, claimed no one in Truro knew anything about the piece being used for Communion. He knew Doane had close knowledge of both Truro and communion tokens. A clear case of Aesop's Sour Grapes.

Not Proof

Nothing in this ramble through the thickets of theory has actually proved Doane and McLachlan right.⁴ But nothing has proved them wrong either. We have seen the origin of disbelief grow from Storer's unsubstantiated claim to an undeserved condemnation. Since there were witnesses on the scene, notably Doane, who was there at the time and may have had firsthand knowledge, it seems to have been a mistake on MacLennan's part to cast aspersions on this token. But then, he was led astray by two well-known collectors. Unless real evidence arises to the contrary, it may be prudent to re-admit the token.

⁴ Although a reading of the minutes of the Kirk Session of St. Paul's, Truro, shows no mention of these tokens, it is inconclusive, as many churches do not mention tokens in their records, especially if they had been presented by a benefactor. The lack of mention simply adds to the conjecture, and the mystery.

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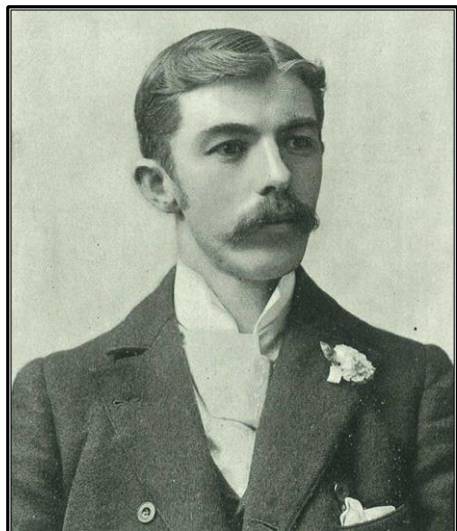
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Howard Laing Hutt
1866 - 1948



Howard Laing Hutt
Professor, Gardener, and Numismatist
 (1866 – 1948)

by
Scott Douglas, FCNRS



H. L. Hutt was born October 5, 1866, in the township of Stamford in the county of Welland, Ontario. Stamford was the original name of present-day Niagara Falls. Hutt once commented on the fact that you could hear the cataracts (the three waterfalls of Niagara) from his family farm.

Hutt received the Gold Medal for General Proficiency in 1890 and graduated from the Ontario Agricultural College with a B.S.A. (Bachelor of Science in Agriculture) in 1891. He went to work on his father's farm for two years before returning to an appointment with



the OAC (which became the University of Guelph in 1964) as

'Lecturer on Horticulture'. During his two years away from the college, 1891-92, the first building designed exclusively for horticultural instruction was built on the OAC campus. In 1893 Hutt was also classified as the first Head of the Department of Horticulture. Prior to these appointments, he took a post-graduate course at Cornell University.

In addition to establishing a curriculum and research program on campus Hutt was instrumental in forming experimental fruit farms, known as research stations, in various parts of Ontario. Although much information was gathered from these stations over the years, the one established at Vineland proved most effective. In 1899 Hutt became Professor of Horticulture for the Ontario Agricultural College. For the rest of his life, Hutt would affectionately be known to friends and colleagues as The Professor.



G. A. Putnam M. W. Doherty Wm. Lochhead C. A. Zavitz Pres. Mills J. H. Reed R. Harcourt J. B. Reynolds
 I. N. Beckstedt H. L. Hutt Wm. Rennie H. H. Dean A. E. Shuttleworth G. E. Day F. C. Harrison W. O. Stewart

COLLEGE FACULTY OF 1899

In 1908 the OAC found it increasingly necessary for specialization and a reorganization of the Department of Horticulture took place. At his request, Professor Hutt became Professor of Landscape Gardening.

Hutt became known throughout Canada and parts of the United States as an expert on fruit cultivation and cold storage as well as landscaping for both public and private institutions. Hutt traveled extensively giving lectures on these topics and was one of the first to use lantern slides to illustrate his presentations. Hutt wrote essays on many horticultural subjects and was

published extensively in various horticultural and gardening magazines of the time. As his reputation grew so did the reputation of the OAC.

In the summer of 1914 (July 20th) OAC President George Creelman sent a letter to the Minister of Agriculture, James S. Duff which stated:

Again I have to call your attention to the delinquencies of Prof. Hutt. The Bursar informs me now that he has hired enough men for the summer to overdraw his account several hundred dollars. He never consults me about anything, refused to go to Prof. Zavitz's office when I sent him about the building this spring, is impossible to work with and a detriment to our whole institution.¹

Subsequently, on July 26, 1914, Professor Hutt received a letter from the Minister of Agriculture, James S. Duff:

For some time past, as you are aware, your services have not been satisfactory to the President of the college and it has now been decided, as a consequence, to reorganize the department which has been under your charge and make different arrangements for carrying on the work. We will, therefore, not require your services after the date mentioned (July 31, 1914).

Professor Hutt revealed his removal from the OAC at the Ontario Horticultural Society convention in November 1914. The statement that the Minister had released Hutt from the college came as such a shock that the newspapers immediately searched for explanations as to why. It is very interesting that the Minister and the OAC were able to keep Hutt's release so quiet. As reported in the Toronto *Globe* the press was on his side:

[Hutt]...has had charge of the horticultural branch at the college for many years, and has seen the college and his own department grow from a small institution to one of the greatest of its kind in the world.

Professor Hutt was viewed by the press and all of the horticultural societies as a friend and a hard worker who was always willing to give a talk or offer much sought after gardening advice. Creelman, on the other hand, was looked on as a 'political' figure who was willing to turn any corner that advanced his career. In fact, he became President of the OAC when his father-in-law James Mills retired and appointed him to the position. Proof of Creelman's character became clear when it was discovered that after writing the letter about Hutt to Minister Duff, Creelman had immediately departed on a three-month study of agricultural methods in New Zealand and was not available for comment.

Creelman lasted another five years before being replaced by Joseph Reynolds (also a good friend of Hutt) and sent off to England as Ontario's agent general. Failing health saw him return to Canada one year later to become the general manager of the Niagara Fruit Growers' Association. Creelman died suddenly in 1929 at his Beamsville, Ontario, farm.

¹ Interestingly, Prof. Zavitz was a close friend of Hutt and frequent visitor to the Hutt family home in later years.

Professor Hutt did not let the events of 1914 hold him back for long. He immediately found employment with the Dovercourt Land Building and Savings Company of Toronto, Ontario, as a landscape consultant. Hutt was also given the role of judge in the Dovercourt Backyard Garden Contest the first of which was held in September 1914. Prize money added up to a total of \$1000. Hutt judged 166 gardens that first year. The prizes were given out in two categories, Class A (homes valued at less than \$3,000), Class B (homes valued at more than \$3,000). The prize money for each category was \$500, for a grand total of \$1000, consisting of first prize \$250, second prize \$100, third prize \$50, and 10 prizes of \$10 each, which were handed out by Dovercourt Vice-President Herbert Waddington and Mrs. W.S. Dinnick, the wife of the President, on Friday evening September 11 at the Dovercourt head office building at the corner of King and Victoria Streets in Toronto. Many people were present, including several members of the press.



PRESENTATION
OF
TROPHIES
MEDALS
AND
CASH PRIZES

**DOVERCOURT BACKYARD
GARDEN CONTEST**

YOU are cordially invited to be present at Massey Music Hall on the evening of September the Tenth, nineteen hundred and fifteen, at eight o'clock. In addition to presenting the Prizes to the successful competitors in the Dovercourt Backyard Garden Contest, Prof. Hutt will deliver an illustrated lecture and prominent Toronto citizens will address the meeting. The best available vocal and instrumental talent has been engaged.

A display of Flowers, Fruit and Vegetables, grown by the competitors, will be made in the Lecture Hall, in the basement, from seven to eight o'clock, before the meeting.

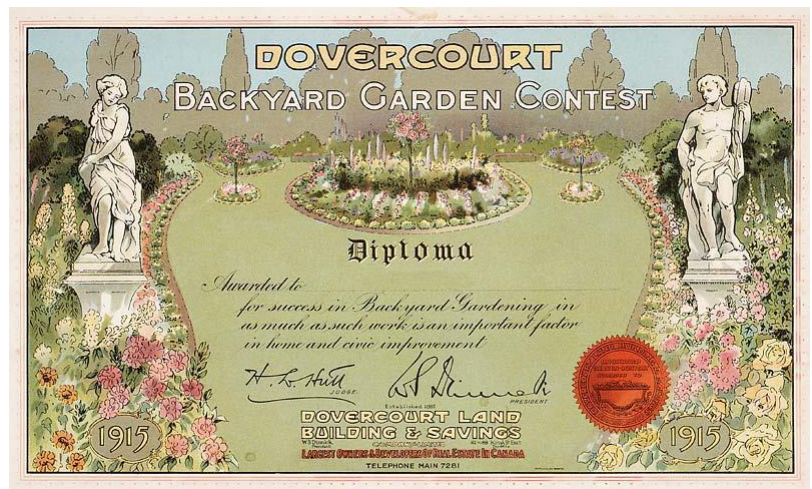
You are welcome. Public invited.

Established 1885

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BUILDING & SAVINGS**

W.S. Dinnick, President
COMPANY LIMITED
82-88 King St. East
Toronto

LARGEST OWNERS & DEVELOPERS OF REAL ESTATE IN CANADA



Diploma

Awarded to _____

*for success in Backyard Gardening in
as much as such work is an important factor
in home and civic improvement.*

H.L. Hutt
Judge

W.S. Dinnick
President

The first Backyard Garden Contest was such a huge success that it was held again in 1915. This time, in addition to cash prizes, there were silver and bronze medals available to be won. As a result of the complete success of the First Backyard Garden Contest and the well-publicized cash prizes, the second Backyard Garden Contest drew a tremendous amount of attention. The first year had had 166 applications. By early May of 1915, there were already 600 applications and more would come in by the cut-off date of May 31.

Beginning in early August, H. L. Hutt inspected all of the 616 contestants' gardens with 513 of them being vegetable gardens. Hutt found the quality of the gardens to be so good that he was forced to make at least two inspections of many of the gardens in order to pick some of the winners. By August 22, 1915, the results were in and the trophies, medals, and cash ready for distribution on the gala night of September 10 at Massey Hall.

On the morning of August 23 the trophies and the one thousand dollars in gold pieces to be distributed as prizes in the 27 general classes of the Backyard Garden Contest were on display in Ryrie Bros. window on Yonge Street.

On the celebration night of September 10 there would also be an exhibition of products from Backyard Contest participating gardens with ten extra prizes of \$2.00 each being provided for the ten best single exhibits of fruits, flowers or vegetables. Afterward, the flowers and fruit would be distributed among the city hospitals. Professor Hutt would be there giving a colour lantern slide display of many of the participating contest gardens.



Howard Laing Hutt, as Judge for the Dovercourt Backyard Garden Contest, would have had the privilege of adding one of each of these medals to his personal collection in recognition of his participation in this ground-breaking event.

Obv. DOVERCOURT . LAND . BUILDING . & . SAVINGS COMPANY – LIMITED; within an inner circle. BACKYARD / GARDEN – CONTEST / AWARDED TO : a tablet surrounded by a garland of roses.

Rev. A garden scene in a backyard with a woman picking flowers.

Medal Details:

The medal is 71.5mm in diameter, 3.5mm thick and weighs 111 grams in bronze and 127 grams in silver. The bronze is edge stamped RYRIE and the silver is edge stamped RYRIE Sterling. The engraver of the medal was A.M. Doret who used an adaptation of a painting by Chingford, Greater London, painter Ernest Charles Walbourn for the reverse. Doret was a Swiss engraver who was located in Toronto for a short time. Little is known to this author about his life.

The medals were struck by Ryrie Brothers of Toronto who, by 1915, had become part of the Henry Birks and Sons empire, with Birks holding a controlling interest until completely absorbing the company in 1924.

The H.L. Hutt medals came in a green leatherette case with green satin stamped RYRIE in gold on the inner lid and green velvet to hold the medal.

R. W. McLachlan mentions this medal in his article “Artistic and Historic Medals Struck in Canada in the Year 1915” which was published in the *American Journal of Numismatics*. In this article McLachlan mentions that there were prizes consisting of \$1,000 in cash, 8 large silver cups, and nine silver and ten bronze medals awarded at a public meeting at Massey Hall. The number of medals alluded to by McLachlan is the only reference I have found and is likely accurate. However, it is my opinion, given the known existence of a couple of unnamed medals, that there may only be four silver and two or three bronze medals that are actually named. The Hutt medals are included in this count. Shortly after the end of the second (and last) Backyard Garden Contest Professor Hutt would go to work as a consultant for Canadian Pacific Railway. Hutt was commissioned to advise on the landscaping of train station grounds throughout western Canada.

It is truly a mystery as to when Hutt began to collect coins. His life was immensely busy with traveling to horticultural events and various societies to give talks illustrated with his famous lantern slides. He wrote many articles for Canadian and American horticultural journals. His presence was often in demand during his working life as well as later in his personal life. He was a judge for many horticultural events almost on a weekly basis. He was the official judge for the American Gladiolus Society and the American Iris Society.

Writing about his passions was a strong character trait of Howard Hutt and yet there is no evidence at all of him ever writing a word on or about numismatics. In April 1912, Professor Hutt joined the American Numismatic Association supported for membership by George Sleeman, of brewery fame. Hutt was given membership number 1568. Sleeman had only just become a member in July of 1909 although he had collected since the late 1880's. Sleeman's son Edwin also joined the ANA in August of 1912. The fact that Hutt and Sleeman knew each other is not at all surprising. Their paths very likely crossed many times when Hutt was a Professor at the Agricultural College and Sleeman was Mayor of Guelph. Who knows, Hutt may have landscaped Sleeman's Silvercreek Brewery grounds. It is also very possible that Sleeman may have helped Hutt put his collection together from his own personal collection or duplicates from the same.

It was July of 1916 when Professor Hutt decide to sell his coin and token collection through B. Max Mehl of Fort Worth, Texas. There may be many reasons for Hutt's decision to sell but I believe it is likely he felt he could use the money.



In 1914 when Hutt was fired from the OAC he went to work for Dovercourt Land and Savings, but he also left Guelph never to return. Hutt purchased five acres on the edge of Georgetown on the 8th line from the Thompson family farm and immediately planted an orchard. He built a house

on this property in 1916 and would stay here until 1940 when he sold his farm, *Hillgirl*, and moved into the town of Georgetown and purchased 67 Charles Street. Hutt immediately put in a garden specializing in gladioli and iris on his Church Street property. Of the multitudes of people that would take an evening stroll past the home of “the professor” many would take home a gift of a bouquet from one of his extraordinary gardens.

From 1916 until his death in 1948 Professor Hutt immersed himself in Georgetown society. He immediately became involved in the Esquesing Agricultural Society and later the Georgetown Horticultural Society, holding various offices in both. Hutt served for several terms as a county appointee on the High School Board and was a member of the Cemetery Board. For several years he was the weather recorder for the Meteorological Service and contributed a humorous and interesting weekly weather column for the *Georgetown Herald* newspaper.

Hutt was a member of the St. John’s United Church in Georgetown.



Photo courtesy of the Esquesing Historical Society

Georgetown Business Men’s Group, September 6, 1920

(Photo taken on Labour Day. Premier E.C. Drury was visiting town for a community picnic).

Back Row:

J.M. Moore, J.B. Mackenzie, Elmer Thompson, K.C. Lindsay, LeRoy Dale, Mr. Aiken,
R.H. Mimms, D. McIntyre, Hon. E.C. Drury, Premier of Ontario S.N. Wrigglesworth,
Professor H.L. Hutt, Walter Evans, Councillor J.Rush, S. Kirk, J.J. Gibbons.

Sitting:

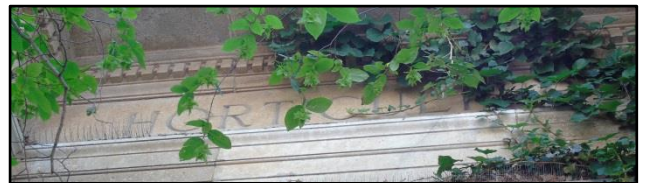
Harold Coffen, Lt. M. Kennedy, V. Thompson, Lt. John Kennedy, Charlie Best, B. Gillies,
W. Wilson, Clark Noble, Major L. Grant

Epilogue

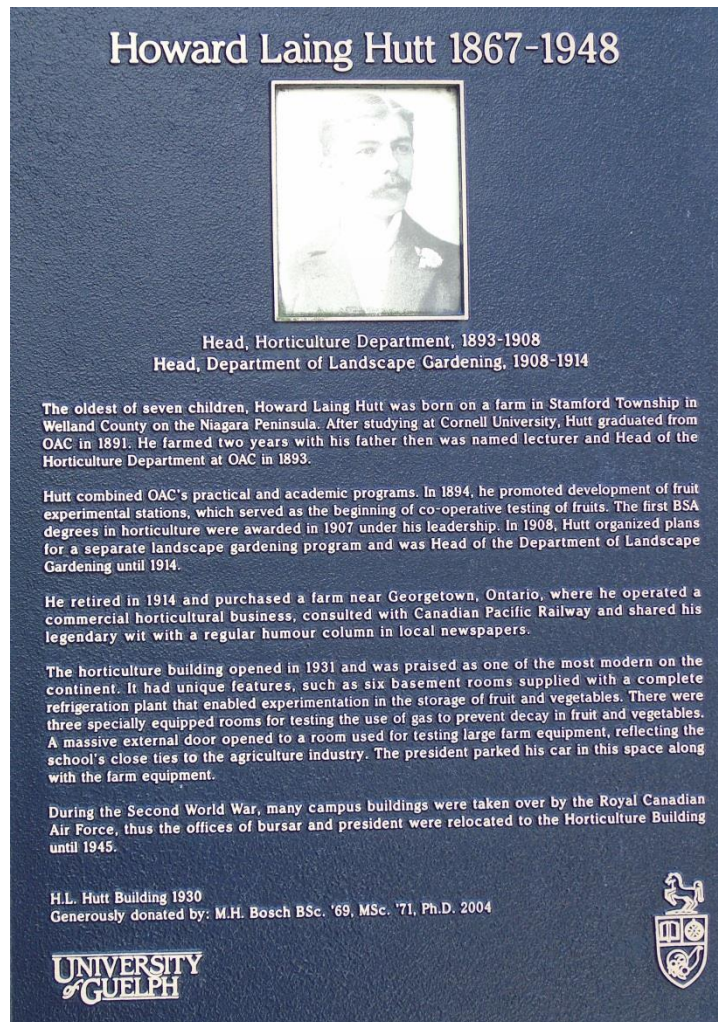
When reading the various biographical notes on Howard Laing Hutt's life one thing becomes clear, and that is that nine out of ten of these summations were just copied from an early original biography and often word for word. There are many errors contained in the pages. However, after sifting through the debris, a fairly accurate profile can be pieced together of an incredibly multifaceted individual.

When trouble first found Hutt in 1914 it was in the form of politics. Hutt was very good at his job and he was a popular ambassador for the Ontario Agricultural College. It becomes clear that the President, George Creelman, was not happy with the attention Hutt was getting for all of his tireless work on behalf of the OAC. People began to refer to the professor as if he *were* the college. Hutt was not without some faults, however, and Creelman used this against him. Hutt was not a great financial planner and seemed to show little concern for the bottom line. He wanted the very best result in anything he did and so he hired student labour for his OAC sanctioned City of Guelph landscape and parks projects and failed to notice or care that he had overspent the budget. In later years he showed a similar side when he ran his commercial venture from his farm in Georgetown. When folks would visit he would often send them home with bulbs and plant cuttings free of charge.

Another common error is that Hutt retired in 1914. At the age of 48, he did not retire. Horticulture was his greatest love. He was pushed out by President George Creelman and the misguided Agricultural Minister James Duff. Rather than sulk, Hutt took control of his future and lived a full, honourable life filled with many accomplishments and admirers. Hutt was one of the most respected and well-liked individuals the town of Georgetown has ever known. When Hutt first came to live in Georgetown in 1916 his presence was felt almost immediately. The first Georgetown Horticultural Society was formed on Monday April 12, 1920, and Professor Hutt was in on the ground floor as the society's Vice President.

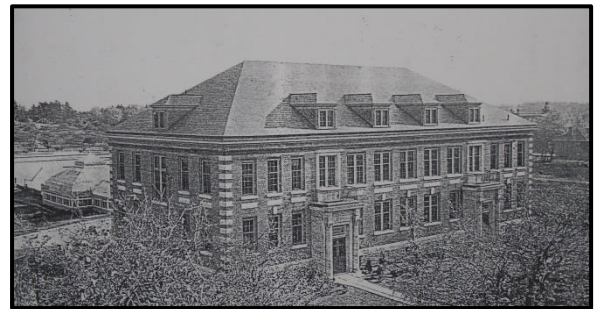


H.L. Hutt Building: Photos by the author 2019



Plaque outside the H.L. Hutt Building: Photo by the author.

Did the OAC make a mistake in forcing H.L. Hutt to 'retire'? Events in later years would very much support this thought. In 1931-2 the Horticultural Building was built on the OAC campus. On Friday, October 23, 1992, the University of Guelph (OAC) held a ceremony to name the "old" Horticultural Building the H.L. Hutt Building. Today in 2019 it houses the Department of Geography and is located on campus at 43 Reynolds Walk, suitably named in honour of Hutt's friend and Creelman's successor, Joseph Reynolds.



The H.L. Hutt Building and Greenhouses soon after completion in 1932.

Howard Hutt's son Frederick B. Hutt, who was a professor at Cornell University, created a scholarship in his father's name at the OAC. Known as the H.L. Hutt Memorial Scholarship, this is an annual award currently (2019) for \$1,000, granted to a student who is conducting research in horticulture. Academic standing is to be used when determining a recipient from those eligible. After researching the life of Howard Laing Hutt, I feel I know much about the man. However, I still know next to nothing about Hutt the numismatist. Perhaps the future will reveal more but, in the meantime, we have a medal housed in the University of Guelph archive, two medals that tell the story of his numismatic/floral passions and an auction catalogue of his collection sold by a legendary numismatic dealer. All of this tells the story of a man whom we won't soon forget.

Finally, in 1948 the Editor of the *Georgetown Herald*, Mr. Walter C. Biehn, pretty much said it all with this editorial on the man who loved to be known as The Professor.

The Editor's Corner

PROFESSOR HUTT

What remains of man on this earth after he crosses the Great Divide is reflected in the memories he leaves in the hearts of his friends and family. Some of us are privileged to leave a store of treasure in good deeds and kindly thoughts, and such were left in abundance by our good friend, Professor H. L. Hutt. There was genuine sorrow in town when word of his death was received for "the professor" as he was familiarly known had at one time or another made the acquaintance of practically every citizen.

Of late years he was best known for his humorous column on The Weather — a column which he inaugurated in the Herald and which when the task became too onerous for his failing health, he turned over to Ern Batkin. The job of course entailed more than the mere writing of a weekly column. That was merely the culmination of a week of faithful recording for the Dominion Meteorological Service, a job done gratis which in its small way is a valuable contribution to Canada in compiling an accurate chart of Canadian weather.

One of the most ardent of local gardeners, he brought to his beautiful iris and gladioli the skilful care acquired in years of experience as a student and a teacher. And while he pretended to carry on a commercial business it was more in the nature of a hobby for rare was the visitor who didn't carry away a beautiful bouquet or some choice bulbs or some valuable tips on how to raise these beauties of the flower garden. His memory will live, not only in the flowers here and there which got their start in his garden, but in countless other places — in station yards made brighter years ago by his advice, in backyards beautified under his guidance as an employee of a Toronto real estate firm, in the training which he passed on to his students at the Ontario Agricultural College and which has in turn been passed on by them to new generations.

It is truly a wonderful heritage that he leaves behind and the sadness of parting is tempered with this knowledge that he lived a full and generous life dedicated to the things of nature which he loved.

In Memoriam



Photo by the author 2016

Howard Laing Hutt is interred in Greenwood Cemetery in Georgetown, Ontario, along with his wife of 55 years Annie.

From this vantage point he is now within calling distance of his many friends and fellow gardeners who all enriched his life as he enriched theirs.

**ONTARIO AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE
COMMISSIONER OF AGRICULTURE - THE GOLD MEDAL**

Donated by the Commissioner of Agriculture for General Proficiency for work in the first two years, First prize. Discontinued after 1897.

Description: Round, 52 mm, 3 mm thick, 10 kt gold, engraved by John Wanless, Toronto. A modification of the design of the Ontario Agriculture and Arts Society medal.

Obv:

Within ... an annulus engraved ONTARIO AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE / GUELPH 1890. Within the annulus, a quartered shield between a wreath of wheat on the left and oats on the right and surmounted by a horse's head, to left. Upon the shield, in dexter chief, a bull's head, to right, in sinister chief, a book and lamp of learning, all engraved.

Rev:

Within the rim is engraved a double wreath of six maple leaves, tied at the base. Within the wreath is engraved the name of the recipient - HOWARD L. HUTT / FIRST / IN / GENERAL / PROFICIENCY.¹ 'A.P. & H.L.H.' / 'APR. 4TH 1893'.

Awarded to:

1882 - F. Wettlaufer, Tavistock
 1883 - W. Robertson, Lambton
 1884 - P. A. Carpenter, Collingwood
 1885 - T.G. Raynor, Rose Hall, PEI
 1886 - R.W. Madge, Brucefield
 1887 - F.J. Sleightholm, Humber
 1888 - George Harcourt, St. Ann's
 1889 - G.A. Brodie, Bethesda, York
1890 - H.L. Hutt, South End
 1891 - D.Z. Gibson, Willow Grove
 1892 - G.E. Day, Guelph
 1892 - R.S. Shaw, Guelph
 1893 - James Atkinson, Seaforth
 1894 - John Wheatley, Blackwell
 1895 - J.F. Clark, Bay View, PEI
 1896 - G.O. Higginson, Hawkesbury
 1897 - G.B. McCalla, St. Catharines
 1898 - Scholarship awarded



Medal Courtesy of the H.L. Hutt Collection,
 Archival and Special Collections,
 University of Guelph Library (RE1OACA0897)

¹ Irwin 2005: 26.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank The University of Guelph Archives and Collections staff; Melissa, Ashley, Kathryn and Darlene for their close attention to my needs and a genuine interest in helping me to ‘get it right’.

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A PAGE FROM MY
“AUCTION RECORDS”

**Business Today Depends on
 Character**

Not on Imagination, Fancy or Sentiment

The Business that is without Character will soon
 be without Friends

I realize that the success of my business depends upon the number of my pleased customers. And so I am constantly directing every energy toward serving the interests of my customers to their best possible advantage, which means simply this: I am fighting the game of competition clean—I am holding Character above all else.

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B. MAX MEHL
 NUMISMATIST

Fort Worth, Texas

Advertisement for the Hutt Collection, ANA Numismatist, July 1916

XXXIX
 THE
 Collection of Coins and Tokens
 OF
CANADA
 OF
 PROF. H. L. HUTT
 AND THE
 Collection of United States Gold and
 Silver Coins
 FORMED BY
 MR. W. S. WARE

Over Fifteen Hundred Lots

TO BE SOLD WITHOUT RESERVE AT
AUCTION
 WEDNESDAY, JULY 12, 1916

CATALOGUED BY
B. MAX MEHL
 NUMISMATIST
 FORT WORTH, TEXAS

Front cover of the B. Max Mehl auction sale of Professor Hutt's Collection of Coins and Tokens of Canada

XXXIX
 CATALOGUE
 OF THE LARGE
Collection of Coins and Tokens
 OF
CANADA
And the Copper Coins of the World
 FORMED BY
PROF. H. L. HUTT
 OF TORONTO
 TOGETHER WITH THE COLLECTION OF
United States Gold, Silver and Copper Coins
 FORMED BY
MR. W. S. WARE
 JACKSONVILLE, FLA.
*Over Fifteen Hundred Lots with Rarities of
 All Series*
 TO BE SOLD AT
AUCTION
 [ALL BIDS BY MAIL]
WEDNESDAY, JULY 12th, 1916
 CATALOGUED AND TO BE SOLD BY
B. MAX MEHL
 NUMISMATIST
 FORT WORTH, -- -- -- TEXAS

CATALOGUE
 THE PROF. H. L. HUTT COLLECTION OF
CANADIAN COINS

Numbered According to Mr. Breton's Work on the Subject.

Canada Under French Rule.

- Lot No.
- 1 B. 506, 1721-2, Crowned L's. Very good. 2 pcs.
 - 2 B. 507, 1721. M. M. B. R. 4. Barely fair, last two figures of date not visible. Very rare.
 - 3 B. 508, 1741-53. Billon Marque. Fine. Scarce. 2 pcs.
 - 4 B. 508, 1740-59. Good. 2 pcs.
 - 5 B. 510. R. 3. Jeton, 1751. Bust of Louis XV. to R. Rev., Indian standing in field of lilies. Ex. Fine. Very rare.
 - 6 B. 510. Similar to preceding. Fine.
 - 7 B. 515. R. 3. Jeton, 1755. Rev., Vessel of the Argonauts. Good. Rare.

Province of Quebec.

- 8 B. 520. R. 2½. Magdalen Island Token, 1815. Seal. Rev., a codfish. Fine.
- 9 B. 520, as preceding. Strictly very good.
- 10 B. 521. Bank Penny Tokens, 1837. 4 banks. Fine and Very fine. 4 pcs.
- 11 B. 522. Halfpennies of same type, 4 banks. Fine. 4 pcs.
- 12 B. 526. Bank of Montreal Penny, 1842. Ex. Fine.
- 13 B. 527. Halfpennies B. of M. 1842-4. Vars. Very fine. 4 pcs.
- 14 B. 528-9. Quebec Bank, 1852, 1d and ½d. Ex. fine. Choice. 2 pcs.
- 15 B. 530. Montreal and Lachine Railroad Co. An engine; Rev., a beaver. Very fine. Rare.
- 16 B. 531, 2, 3. Montreal 1816, Canada 1830-41 and n. d. Fine and very fine. 4 pcs.

The Excessively Rare Montreal Bridge Token.

- 17 Breton 540. DE L'ISLE DE MONTREAL A REPENTIGUY ON LACHESNAYE. Rev., CHEVAL. Fine and exceedingly rare. Record of \$40.00.
- 18 B. 559. VEXATOR CANADINSIS 1811. Very crude, imperfectly struck as all are. Good. Very rare.
- 19 B. 561-5. Brown, 2 Vars. Shaw. Fine. 3 pcs.
- 20 B. 562. Molson. Large thick planchet. Fine and rare.
- 21 B. 563. Mullins, Montreal. Very fine. Rare.
- 22 B. 569. Devins and Bolton, 1867. Ex. fine. Rare.
- 23 Devins and Bolton cs. on 521-7-687-92-919 and U. S. Cent 1837. Very good. 6 pcs.
- 24 B. 571, 2, 4. Gagnon, Cards, etc. Fine to Unc. 4 pcs.
- 25 B. 575 Desjardins. Uncirculated. Scarce.

- 26 B. 577, 8, 80, 4. Cardinal, Lymburner, Le Roux. Unc. 4 pcs.
 27 B. 606 (AE) 607 (AE and WM). Tremblay. Unc. Scarce. 3 pcs.
 28 B. 609, 14, 8, 9. Witness, Williams, St. Leon. Unc. 4 pcs.
 29 B. 655, R. 3½. Bergeron, Grocer, Montreal. Only 25 struck. Unc. Ex. Rare.

The Bouquet Sous.

- 30 B. 670. Duseman, Butcher, Belleville. Fine.
 31 B. 671. Thin flan. Fine. Scarce.
 32 B. 674. AE and Brs. Fine and very good. 2 pcs.
 33 B. 678, 9, 80. Fine. 3 pcs.
 34 B. 682. R. 2½. Very good. Rare.
 35 B. 683, 4 (2). Very good. Scarce. 3 pcs.
 36 B. 685. R. 2½. Very good. Rare.
 37 B. 686, 7, 8. Fine. 3 pcs.
 38 B. 691, 2, 3, 4, 5. Very good to fine. 5 pcs.
 39 B. 696. R. 2½. Strictly very good. Rare.
 40 B. 697. Perfect and cracked dies. Fine. Scarce. 2 pcs.
 41 B. 698, R. 2½. Good. Very rare. (Cost Mr. Hutt \$3.00).
 42 B. 699-700. Fine. 2 pcs.
 43 B. 701. R. 2½. Fine. Rare condition.
 44 B. 702, 4, 5. Fine. 3 pcs.
 45 B. 706. R. 2½. Fine. Rare. (Cost \$4.00).
 46 B. 707, 8, 9, 10, 11. Good to fine. All scarce. 5 pcs.
 47 B. 713, 4 Vars. Very good to fine. 7 pcs.
 48 B. 715 open and closed wreath, 716. Very good and fine. 3 pcs.

Province of Ontario.

- 49 B. 717, Lesslie and Sons. 1822, Twopence. Justice standing. Rev., plough. Very good but some erosion. Very rare.
 50 B. 718. Halfpennies of same firm. Diff. Vars. Very good to fine. Rare. 5 pcs.
 51 B. 719. Bank of Up. Canada Pennies, 1850, 2. 2 Vars., 4 plain and crosslet 4, 7. Fine to uncirculated red. 6 pcs.
 52 B. 720. Halfpennies, same bank, 1850, 2, 4 plain and cross. 7. Fine to mint. 5 pcs.
 53 B. 723, 724. 6 Vars. "Brook" 1812. "Brock" Monument 1816. Commemorate the battle of Queenstown Heights in the war of 1812. Very good and fine. 7 pcs.
 54 B. 725. Obv. of 723. Rev. of 724. Very rare. Good.
 55 B. 726. R. 2. Sloop. Rev., Commercial Change, 1815. Very good, some erosion on Rev. (This and preceding lot not in Hidden collection).
 56 B. 727, 30, 1820, 3, 33 sloops. Vars. Very good to fine. 6 pcs.
 57 B. 728. R. 2½. Sloop sailing. Rev., Cask marked UPPER CANADA. Fine. Rare.
 58 B. 731, 2. Sloop 1833. Prov. UP. Canada, 1832. Fine. 2 pcs.
 59 B. 735, 6, 46. Iliffe, Ottawa, Schmidt, Toronto. Very good to Unc. 4 pcs.
 60 B. 755. The Toronto "Globe" Token. Out of use over 30 years. All in their office lost when building was burnt. Fine and very rare.

- 61 B. 757, 97, 809. McDonald, Sinden, etc. Fine. 3 pcs.
 62 B. 778. Card of Jos. Hooper, the veteran Numismatist, now of Rochester, N. Y. Uncirculated.
 63 B. 786, 836, 49. Stroud, Grenny, Clark. Uncirculated. 3 pcs.
 64 Since Breton. Collectors cards, Barton, Gibbs, Heal, Thomson, Wood. Uncirculated. 6 pcs.
 65 Various Com. issues and tokens. Aylmer (chapter penny), Lundy's Lane, Hamilton, Toronto, etc. Fine to Unc. 17 pcs.

Province of Nova Scotia.

- 66 B. 867 (2), 869. 1823-4 Half pennies. Fine and Unc. 3 pcs.
 67 B. 868 (2), 870. 1824-32 Pennies. Fine. 7 pcs.
 68 B. 871, 1832 Halfpennies, includes C. 283 (R. 6). Fine. 9 pcs.
 69 B. 873, 1840-3 Pennies. Fine and very fine. 3 pcs.
 70 B. 874, 1840-3. Halfpennies. aVrs. Fine. 7 pcs.
 71 B. 875-6. Mayflower 1d and ½ d. Fine. 2 pcs.
 72 B. 877-8. 1861, 2, 4. Cents and ½c. Fint to mint. 5 pcs.
 73 B. 879 (2), 881, 2, 3. Broke. Car. and Al. Host and E. (3 Vars.) Fine. 6 pcs.
 74 B. 880. R. ½. Convenience of Trade. Fine and rare.
 75 B. 884 (2 Vars.), 5, 6, 7. S. and S. Com. chge. Gen. Brit., Cop. The last fair, others very good to fine. 6 pcs.
 76 B. 888 (3 Vars.), 889 (2 Vars.) Success to Nav. Ship Halifax. Very good to fine. 5 pcs.
 77 B. 890, 1 (2 Vars.). White, Barry. Fine. 3 pcs.
 78 B. 892, 3, 4. Blacks, Ship 1820. Very good and fine. 3 pcs.
 79 B. 895. R. 3. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Success. Fine. Rare.
 80 B. 896, 7. Brown, Purves. Fine. 2 pcs.
 81 B. 900, 1. Ferry Token, Blakley & Co. Ex. fine. 2 pcs.
 82 **New Brunswick.** B. 907, 1861-4, 908. Cents and ½c, last rare. Fine and very fine. 3 pcs.
 83 B. 909 (2), 910 (4). Penny and ½d Tokens. Diff. Vars. Fine. 6 pcs.
 84 B. 911-2. Currency 1d and ½ d. Very fine. 3 pcs.
 85 B. 913. St. John ½ d. Very fine. Rare.
 86 **Prince Edward Island.** B. 915, 7, 8, 9, 20, 1. 1871 Codfish, 1855, 7. Ship Cents. Vars. Fine. 15 pcs.
 87 **North West.** B. 926, 7, 8, 9. Hudson Bay Co. Tokens for 1, ½, ¼, ⅛, beaver skins. Very fine. Rare. 4 pcs.
 88 **British Columbia.** B. 937, 8. Central Hotel, Cowan. Fine. 2 pcs.
 89 **Newfoundland.** B. 951. Cents; diff. dates. Fine. 10 pcs.
 90 B. 952, 3. St. Johns, Harbour, Grace. Very good to very fine. 4 pcs.
 91 B. 955. Fishery Rights. Good. Very rare.

Miscellaneous Non-Local Tokens.

- 92 B. 957, 1812 Pennies dated both sides; Vars. Fine. Rare. 2 pcs.
 93 B. 958, 1812, 3 (rare). Obv. date pennies. Very good and good. 2 pcs.
 94 B. 959, 1812 Rev. date Pennies; Vars. Good and very good. Scarce. 2 pcs.

- 95 B. 960, 1. 1812 ½d Tokens. Cop. and brs., diff. Vars. V. G. to Unc. Scarce lot. 16 pcs.
- 96 B. 962. 1813, 4. Pennies. Trade and Nav. V. G. to Fine. 3 pcs.
- 97 B. 963. 1812-3. 964 (rare). Similar type ½ d's and ¼ d. Very good and good. 3 pcs.
- 98 B. 965 (3), 6, 7. 1d and ½d Tokens. V. G. to Fine. 5 pcs.
- 99 B. 970. R. 3. Wellington bust. Rev. Britannia, no date. Very fine. Very rare.
- 100 B. 969, 71, 2. 1813 and n. d. Wellington ½d. Fine. 4 pcs.
- 101 B. 975. 1805 Penny, Harp. Good. Rare.
- 102 B. 976. 2 Vars. 978. 1805-13 Wellingtons. Fine. Scarce. 3 pcs.
- 103 B. 977 (R. 3½). Wellington, bust to left. Rev. TRADE & COMMERCE 1811. Very fine and very rare. (Cost \$10 some years ago and worth more today).
- 104 B. 979. 4 Vars. 1814 Wellington. Very good to fine. 4 pcs.
- 105 B. 981. 1816 Wellington ½d. Very fine. 2 pcs.
- 106 B. 982. Bust of Nelson. One struck on a Bristol token. Very good. 2 pcs.
- 107 B. 983. Bust of Geo. III. "Success to Trade 1812." Rev. Brit. seated, "Commerce Rules the Main." Very good. Very rare.
- 108 B. 984. 1813 Wellington Penny. Good. Rare.
- 109 B. 985. Wellington Penny. Rev., Russian Cossack mounted. Very fine. Rare.
- 110 B. 986. Wellington's battles; Vars. Very good (1) to fine. 4 pcs.
- 111 B. 986. Var. with CIUDAD. Very good. Rare.
- 112 B. 987. 8. Vars. Fine. 6 pcs.
- 113 B. 989. 1814 Ship Penny. Rev. RH in wreath. Very good. Rare.
- 114 B. 990. 1814 ½d, same type. Thick and thin. V. good. 2 pcs.
- 115 B. 991, R. 3. R. H. farthing. Fine. Very rare.
- 116 B. 992, 2 Vars., 993. 1825 ½d, one rare. Very good and Fine. 3 pcs.
- 117 B. 994. 1813, 4, 5, Eagle ½d. Vars. Fine. 5 pcs.
- 118 B. 995, 6. 1815 S. C. and C. Brass. Fine. Scarce. 2 pcs.
- 119 B. 997. Ships Colonies and Commerce. American (2 Vars.) British and Drooping flags; includes choppy and running waves, 1 over 0, and stays to sprit-sail. Numbered by Mr. H. Wood's plate, 28 Vars. Very good to fine. Rare lot. 28 pcs.
- 120 B. 1002. Wellington bust in civilian dress. Rev. Ships, Col. and Com. Very good. Rare.
- 121 B. 1002. Wellington, a diff. die. The bust not on B. 1006 or 1007. About fine. Very rare.
- 122 B. 1003, 4 (2 dates), 5 rare. Very fair (1) to fine. 4 pcs.
- 123 B. 1006, 7. Wellington bust. Rev. Wellington Waterloo. Com. Chnge. Fine. 2 pcs.
- 124 B. 1008, Rarity 4. Bust to right. Rev. 1820. Female seated to left holding scales and cornucopiae. Copper. Very crude work. Obv. unusually well struck. Rev., Head of female and lower half of figure 20 not well struck. One of the best known specimens of this extremely rare coin. Fine for coin.

- 125 B. 1009, 10 (2 Vars.), 11, 3. Irishman, No Labour, 1820 Bust and N. A. Tokens. Very good (2), Fine (3). 5 pcs.
- 126 B. 1012. Bust. Rev. 1820 Harp. Vars. Very good to Unc. 10 pcs.
- 127 Not in Breton. Anticosti, ½d, 1870. Uncirculated red.
- 128 Blacksmiths Tokens. Rev. female seated; harp. Copper and brass. Crude. Very good. Rare lot. 7 pcs.
- 129 Brutus, Lion, Mercury, Vincit. Very good to fine. 9 pcs.
- 130 Ship. Rev. ONE PENNY in wreath. Very good. Rare.
- 131 Duplicates of preceding. Diff. Vars. Good to fine. 84 pcs.
- 132 Duplicates, as preceding lot. Good to fine. 41 pcs.

FOREIGN COPPER COINS.

A Truly Wonderful Collection of the Copper Coins of the World.
Over Three Thousand Different Specimens.

NOTE: In accordance with Prof. Hutt's suggestion the foreign section of his collection was catalogued in rotation as found in Scott's Catalogue. Where a lot is catalogued as Baden, Constance, etc., the "ETC." does NOT mean that the countries not mentioned are common coins of some distant district. The "ETC." means that they are and belong to the State next to the Countries or States as found in Scott's Catalogue.

ENGLAND.

- 133 Charles II. Will. and Mary to Geo. II. Good to fine. 20 pcs.
- 134 George III. 1773-1807 ¼d to 2d. Very good and fine. 14 pcs.
- 135 George IV. to George V. Fine to mint. 24 pcs.
- 136 George IV. to Ed. VII. ¼, ½, 1 Farthings and Models. 4 Reigns. Fine to mint. 20 pcs.
- 137 Scotland. Bawbee's, Chas. II. 1678-9. Wm. & Mary 1692 (the last cost \$2). Good. 3 pcs.
- 138 Bodles (2d), Jas., Charles II. Fair to good. 4 pcs.
- 139 Ireland. James I. to Geo. IV. ¼d to 1d. Good to fine. 17 pcs.
- 140 James II. Gun Money, coined from the metal of old cannon. 6d, Bust to left. Rev. crown, value and date, Jan., July, Sept. 1689. Fine and rare. 3 pcs.
- 141 XIId. (Shillings) Bust to L. Rev. value, date 1689. Jan., Feb., Mar., Nov. 1690, Apr., May. Very good. 7 pcs.
- 142 XIId. 1689. Jan., Feb., Mar., etc. Good to very good. 9 pcs.
- 143 XIId. 1689, 90. Var. of months. Good to very good. 10 pcs.
- 144 XXXd. (½ Crowns) 1689 Aug., Sept., Oct., Dec. Good to V. G. 5 pcs.
- 145 XXXd. 1689-90. Sept., Dec., Mar. Good to very good. 5 pcs.
- 146 XXXd. 1690, Mar., May, July. Very good. 6 pcs.
- 147 Crown (5 Shillings). The king mounted. Rev., Arms in form of cross, date. Very good to fine. 2 pcs.
- 148 ½d, 1691, issued at Limerick. Fine and rare.
- 149 ½d, 1760. Voce Populi. Rev. Hibernia. Fine. Rare.
- 150 Gibraltar, 1802-42, some dups. Very good to fine. 16 pcs.
- 151 Guernsey, Jersey. Victoria to George V. Fine to mint. 19 pcs.
- 152 Isle of Man. Pence, 1733-58. Very good to fine. 4 pcs.
- 153 1786, 98, 1811, ½d and 1d of each. Good to fine. 6 pcs.
- 154 1811 1d. Douglas Bank Token. Very good, nearly fine.
- 155 1811 Atlas, 1813 ½d's and 1d's. Very good. 4 pcs.
- 156 1830-9. ¼d to 1d. Good to fine. 5 pcs.

England, Tradesmen's Tokens, 18th Century.

- A most interesting series of various designs, used as currency from 1757 to 1800. Arranged by Countries and numbered as Atkins work. Many are rare.
- 157 Halfpennies. Bucks, Cambridge, Cheshire, Cornwall. Very good to Unc. 16 pcs.
- 158 Devon, Dorset, Durham, Essex, Gloucester. Very good to Unc. 17 pcs.
- 159 Hampshire, Emsworth, Gosport, Isle of Wight, etc. Very good to Fine. 15 pcs.
- 160 Hampshire, Hertford, Kent. V. G. to Unc. 16 pcs.
- 161 Kent (the garden of England). Fine to Unc. 15 pcs.
- 162 Lancashire, John of Gaunt, Liverpool, etc. Very good to Fine. 18 pcs.
- 163 Lancashire, Lincolnshire. Very good to fine. 18 pcs.
- 164 Middlesex. Allen, Carter, Ching, Dennis, etc. Very good to Unc. red. 14 pcs.
- 165 Middlesex, Eaton, Fowler, Guest, Hall, etc. Very good to proof. 15 pcs.
- 166 Middlesex, Lackington, Palmer, Masonic, etc. Fine. 16 pcs.
- 167 Middlesex, Newgate, Salters, Sims, etc. Fine. 18 pcs.
- 168 Middlesex, St. Paul's, Williams, Stag, etc. Fine to Unc. 20 pcs.
- 169 Monmouth, Norfolk. Many of Norwich. Fine. 20 pcs.
- 170 Northampton, Nottingham, Shropshire. V. good to F. 9 pcs.
- 171 Somerset, Bath (8), Bristol, etc. Very good to proof. 14 pcs.
- 172 Stafford, Suffolk. Very good to fine. 18 pcs.
- 173 Sussex, Warwick. Very good to fine. 20 pcs.
- 174 Warwick, Coventry, Lady Godiva (6), Kempsons Buildings (4). Fine to proof. 10 pcs.
- 175 Warwickshire. Very good to fine. 20 pcs.
- 176 Warwick, Westmorland, Wilts, York. Very good to Unc. 20 pcs.
- 177 Wales, North and South, etc. Very good to Fine. 14 pcs.
- 178 Wales, Anglesea, Carmarthen, Glamorgan. Very good to fine. 15 pcs.
- 179 Scotland, Dundee, Glasgow, etc., Good to fine. 12 pcs.
- 180 Scotland, Edinburgh, Leith, etc. Very good to fine. 12 pcs.
- 181 Ireland, Dublin. Good to fine. 19 pcs.
- 182 Ireland, Munster, Wicklow. Good to fine. 14 pcs.
- 183 Not Local: Slave, Tom Tackle, etc. Very interesting. Very good to Fine. 18 pcs.
- 184 Not Local. Very good to fine. 19 pcs.
- 185 Imitation of Regal Coinage. Known also as Penna. Bungtowns. Brutus Sextus, Clement XV., George Ruled, etc. Fine and Ex. Fine. All rare. 12 pcs.
- 186 As last. Oliver Cromwell, Gregory III., etc.; 4 are farthings. Good to fine. Rare. 12 pcs.
- 187 18th Century ¼d. Tokens. Cambridge, Dorset, London, Bath, etc. Very good to fine. 11 pcs.
- 188 N. & S. Wales, Scotland. Not Local. V. G. to Fine. 13 pcs.
- 189 18th Century Penny Tokens. Chester Castle, Cambridge, Kings Coll. Uncirculated. Rare. 2 pcs.

- 190 Pennies. London, Anglesea, Dundee. Very fine. 4 pcs.
- 191 Duplicates of preceding lots. (English Tokens, ½d's). Very fair to very good. 47 pcs.
- 192 **England, 17th Century, ¼d Tokens.** Bristol, Hartfield, Lyme, etc. Good. Scarce. 11 pcs.
- 193 Bristol Shilling Tokens, 1811, Davis 99-26. Fine and rare.
- 194 Silver Shilling Tokens. Bristol, Dorset, Liverpool, 1811-2. Davis, 98-18; 45-16; 64-2. Fine. 3 pcs.
- 195 England, 19th Century Penny Tokens. Bristol, Bradford, Glasgow, etc. Very good to fine. 11 pcs.
- 196 England, 19th Century ½d. Tokens. Very good to F. 14 pcs.
- 197 England, 19th Century ¼d. Tokens. Norwich, London, etc. Very good to fine. 17 pcs.
- 198 England, ¼d Tokens as preceding. Very good to fine. 17 pcs.
- 199 England, Tokens of Royalty. Anne to Ed. VII. Fine to Unc. 30 pcs.
- 200 England, Cards and Tokens, some holed as issued. G. to Very fine. 18 pcs.

Australia, Tradesmen's Tokens, ½d and 1d.

All numbered as Stainsfield's work. Many fine designs. Many rare. No duplicates in any lot.

- 201 So. Australia, Victoria, Queensland. Very good to fine. 14 pcs.
- 202 Queensland, Victoria Tokens. Very good to fine. 12 pcs.
- 203 Tasmania Tokens. Very good to fine. 12 pcs.
- 204 Tasmania Tokens. Very good to fine. 12 pcs.
- 205 Tasmania, Victoria Tokens. Very good to fine. 12 pcs.
- 206 Victoria Tokens. Very good to fine. 12 pcs.
- 207 Victoria Tokens. Very good to fine. 14 pcs.
- 208 Victoria Tokens. Very good to fine. 12 pcs.
- 209 New S. Wales, Victoria Tokens. Very good to fine. 15 pcs.
- 210 New South Wales Tokens. Very good to fine. 15 pcs.
- 211 New South Wales Tokens. Very good to fine. 12 pcs.
- 212 New Zealand Tokens. Very good to fine. 14 pcs.
- 213 New Zealand Tokens. Very good to fine. 15 pcs.
- 214 New Zealand, etc., Tokens. Very good to fine. 18 pcs.
- 215 New Zealand, etc., Tokens. Very good to fine. 19 pcs.
- 216 The balance, Australia, New Zealand, etc. Fair to V. G. 18 pcs.

Central and South America.

- 217 **Mexico.** Charles and Joanna, ¼ Real. K Crowned. Rev. I crowned. Design, value & MM visible on one. Earliest American coinage. Poor. Very rare. 2 pcs.
- 218 1/4, 2/4 Real (1808-14), same values 1814. Very good. 4 pcs.
- 219 1/16, 1/8, 1/4 Real, 1831-6. Very good. 5 pcs.
- 220 Chihuahua, Jalisco, Potosi, etc. Many dates, mostly scarce. Good to fine. 22 pcs.
- 221 Oaxaca, 1812 1st coinage. 1 Real, 8 Reals (2). Good to fine. Rare. 3 pcs.
- 222 Oaxaca, 1813, 2 and 8 Reals (2). Very good to V. fine. 3 pcs.
- 223 Costa Rica, Honduras, etc. Good to fine. 11 pcs.
- 224 Honduras. 1 to 8 Peso, 1862. Fine. Rare set. 4 pcs.

- 225 **West Indies.** Antigua, Bahamas, Barbadoes, Neptune (3), Tolanto, Lawlor. Good to fine. All scarce. 8 pcs.
 226 Bermuda, Jamaica, ¼d to 1d. Var. dates. V. G. to F. 10 pcs.
 227 Jamaica, Howard, Smith. Very good. 2 pcs.
 228 **Haiti.** Fine to Unc. 15 pcs.
 229 San Domingo & Repub. French Colonies, Danish W. I. 1767 c.s. R. F. Very good to Unc. 12 pcs.
 230 South America. Brit., Dutch, French and Spanish Guiana, etc. Very good to fine. 15 pcs.
 231 Brazil, 1753-1821. Very good to fine. 11 pcs.
 232 Brazil, 1824-1901 (Maranhao, etc.) Nickel and Copper. V. G. to Unc. 22 pcs.
 233 Peru, Bolivia, Chili, etc. (N. & C.) Very good to Unc. 17 pcs.
 234 Buenos Ayres, Uruguay, Paraguay. Very good to Unc. 17 pcs.

EUROPE.

- 235 Norway, 1809-1910, diff. dates. Very good to Unc. 16 pcs.
 236 **Sweden,** ¼ Ore, 1638, 1 Ore 1673. Very good. 2 pcs.
 237 2 Ore, 1664, 1 Ore 1686, large coins. Fine. 2 pcs.
 238 1/6, 1/2, 1 Ore. 1666, 1724. Very good. 7 pcs.
 239 1 and 2 Ores. 1730, '72. Very good. 9 pcs.
 240 1790-1837. Very good. 20 pcs.
 241 1839-1909. Very good to Unc. 20 pcs.
 242 Denmark, 1693-1815. Very good to fine. 14 pcs.
 243 Denmark-Holstein, 1818-1907. Very good to Unc. 16 pcs.
 244 Antwerp. Siege pieces, 5 and 10 cents, 1814. V. G. to F. 4 pcs.
 245 Brabant. Chas. V. to 1709. Very good. Scarce. 18 pcs.
 246 Brabant, 1710-93. Very good to fine. 16 pcs.
 247 Cambrai, Campen, Deventer, Frisia. Fair to V. G. 14 pcs.
 248 Deventer, 1 and 2 Sols, 1578. Siege pieces. Fine. 2 pcs.
 249 Gelderland, Groningen, 1633-1794. Very good to fine. 15 pcs.
 250 Holland, Loos, Overijssel, Tournay, etc. G. to V. G. Scarce. 22 pcs.
 251 Utrecht, Zealand, Zutphen Zwolle. Fair to fine. Scarce. 24 pcs.
 252 Holland, Belgium. Vars. in type and dates, few nickel. Fine to Unc. 26 pcs.
 253 Luxemburg, Liege. Very good to Unc. 24 pcs.
 254 **France,** 1586-1699. Good to very good. 17 pcs.
 255 1711-93. Very good to Unc. 18 pcs.
 256 1793-1910. Very good to uncirculated. 26 pcs.
 257 Historical Jetons. Very good to very fine. Many rare. 28 pcs.
 258 Others as preceding. Good to very fine. 28 pcs.
 259 Baronial Issues. 1581-1727. Fair to very good. 25 pcs.
 260 Monneron Tokens. 2 and 5 Sols. Fine. 3 pcs.
 261 Strasburg, Nap. I and Louis XVIII. 1 Deme. 1814-5, etc. Fine. 5 pcs.
 262 **Spain.** Ferd. to Philip III. Good to fine. Scarce. 6 pcs.
 263 Phil. IV. Chas. II. 1661-80. Good to fine. 9 pcs.
 264 1711-95. Very good to fine. 12 pcs.
 265 1808-38. Very good to fine. 14 pcs.
 266 1845-1906, 2 of Chas. VII. Very good to Unc. 20 pcs.
 267 Barcelona, Catalonia. Good to fine. 11 pcs.
 268 Ivica, Marjorca, Navarre. Good to very good. 8 pcs.

- 269 Early odd shapes; C. S. dates and values. 9 pcs.
 270 Portugal, 1521-1799. Fair to very good and fine. 25 pcs.
 271 Portugal. 1711 to 1892. Very good to uncirculated. 24 pcs.
 272 **Germany.** Prussia, 1752-1875. Fine to Unc. red. 24 pcs.
 273 Dantzic, Posen, Stolberg, etc. Very good. 9 pcs.
 274 Munster, 1602-1790. Vars. in dates and values. Good to fine. 27 pcs.
 275 Paderborn, Bocholt, Hamm, Hervoed, Soest, etc. V. G. to fine. 16 pcs.
 276 Cleves, Julich, Weid, Cologne, etc. V. Good to Fine. 17 pcs.
 277 Aachen, Elberfeld, Bavaria, Chur, Pfalz, etc. G. to Fine. 22 pcs.
 278 Baden, Constance, etc. Very good to fine. 14 pcs.
 279 Brunswick, **Hanover, etc.** Very good to fine. 27 pcs.
 280 Goslar, Osnaburg, Saxe-Weimar. Very good to fine. 15 pcs.
 281 Saxe-Weimar. Var. in dates and values. V. G. to Fine. 24 pcs.
 282 Gotha & Altenburg, etc., many dates. Good to fine. 28 pcs.
 283 Saxe, Meiningen, Hildburg, diff. dates. V. G. to fine. 35 pcs.
 284 Saxe-Saalfeld, Coburg, Gotha. Very good to fine. 25 pcs.
 285 Saxony, Hesse, Cassel. Very good to uncirculated. 31 pcs.
 286 Westphalia, Hesse, Darmstadt, etc. Very good. 20 pcs.
 287 Mentz, Mecklenburg, Rostock (3 siege pieces). V. G. to fine. 18 pcs.
 288 Wismar, Nassau, Oldenburg, etc. Very good to fine. 20 pcs.
 289 Anhalt, Lippe, etc. Very good to fine. 24 pcs.
 290 Reuss, Frankfort, Bremen. Very good to Unc. 25 pcs.
 291 German States. Nickel, silver and brass, some old, no dups. Fair to fine. 60 pcs.
 292 Austria, 1759-1807. ½ to 30 Krzr. V. Good to Unc. 16 pcs.
 293 Austria, 1812-1899. Very good to Unc. 17 pcs.
 294 Burgaw, Salzburg, Tyrol, etc. Good to fine. 14 pcs.
 295 Hungary, Bohemia. Good to Unc. 10 pcs.
 296 Switzerland. 1795-1826. Base. Choice lot. 18 pcs.
 297 Switzerland. Copper, nickel and base. Good to V. fine. 34 pcs.
 298 Italy, Lombardy, etc. Good to fine. 22 pcs.
 299 Ancona. Cast 1 Bai. Mantua (1519) Sesino. Scarce. 2 pcs.
 300 Mantua, Milan, Monanco. Fine. 6 pcs.
 301 Naples and Sicily, 1687-1798. Good to fine. 12 pcs.
 302 Naples and Sicily, 1800-59. Good to fine. 13 pcs.
 303 Papal States. 1802-1851. Choice. Ex. fine. 5 pcs.
 304 Papal States. Pius VI. to Pius IX. Very good to fine. 11 pcs.
 305 Papal States. Pius IX. Two types, 1849-69. Fine. 11 pcs.
 306 Papal States. Ancona, Pergola, Perugia, etc. 2½ and 5 Bai. St. Peter and Virgin. Very good. Scarce. 9 pcs.
 307 Papal States. Bologna, Fermo, Foligno, 1 and 2 Bai. Fine. 3 pcs.
 308 Roman Republic. ½, 1, 3 Bai, also pattern X. XX Bai. Wolf and twins. Fine. Rare. 6 pcs.
 309 Sardinia, 1766-1842. Very good to Unc. 12 pcs.
 310 Tuscany, Venice. Very good to fine. 16 pcs.
 311 Russia. Peter. 1 Kop., 5 Kop., 1727; 1 Kop. 1728. Very good to fine. 3 pcs.
 312 Russia. ¼, ½, 1, 2, 5 Kop., 1735-94. Good to V. fine. 11 pcs.

- 313 Russia, 1798-1837. $\frac{1}{2}$ to 10 Kop. Fine. 10 pcs.
 314 Russia, 1841-1911. Very good to Unc. 26 pcs.
 315 Poland, Lithuania, Riga, etc. (3 base). Very good. 22 pcs.
 316 Moldavia & Wallachia, 1 and 2 Para, 1772-3. Good and very good. 2 pcs.
 317 The Balkans. Roumania, Servia, Bulgaria. (Nickel 5). Very good to Unc. Scarce. 18 pcs.
 318 Turkey, 1 to 40 Para. (4 base). Fine. 20 pcs.
 319 Armata, Dalmatia, Candia, Corsica, Corfu, Cyprus. Good to fine. Scarce. 10 pcs.
 320 Greece, 1830-78, includes red set 1833. Vars. dates and values. Very good to Unc. 20 pcs.
 321 Malta, 1 Grain to 4 Tari, 1582-1786. Very good. 6 pcs.
 322 Ionian Isles, 1 to 10 Oboli. Vars. in dates. Fine. 6 pcs.

AFRICA.

- 323 Morocco, Cast coins, 3 sizes. 1212 to 1381 and n. d. Fine lot. 20 pcs.
 324 Tunis, $\frac{1}{2}$ to 8 Caroub. Very good to Unc. 14 pcs.
 325 Egypt. Very good to fine. 12 pcs.
 326 Sierra Leone. Penny, 1791. Lion. Rev. hands clasped. Proof.
 327 Liberia, 1833, 2 Vars. 1847, 1c and 2c. Fine. 4 pcs.
 328 Liberia, patterns, 1866-88. Unc. and proof (2). 5 pcs.
 329 Angola, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, 1 Macuta, 1763. Very good. 3 pcs.
 330 Angola, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$ Mac. 1785; $\frac{1}{4}$, 1 Mac. 1789. Good. 4 pcs.
 331 Angola, 1 Mac. 1814-60; $\frac{1}{2}$ Mac. 1851-8. V. G. to Fine. 4 pcs.
 332 Oran, 8 Mar.; Congo Free State. Good to Unc. 5 pcs.
 333 Transvaal, Orange Free State, Krugers and patterns. Unc. 6 pcs.
 334 Good Hope, Griqua Town, Mombasa, Nigeria, etc. (some patterns). Unc. 10 pcs.
 335 Azores, 1750-1880. Very good to very fine. 10 pcs.
 336 St. Thomas, St. Helena, Mauritius, Zanzibar. 2 Vars. of last. Very good to Unc. 9 pcs.

ASIA.

- 337 Siberia, $\frac{1}{4}$ to 10 Kop. Very good to fine. Rare set. 6 pcs.
 338 Tiflis, Persia, Japan. Good to uncirculated. 10 pcs.
 339 Muscat and Oman, $\frac{1}{4}$ Anna. Vars. Fine. 4 pcs.
 340 China, from B. C. 210, includes large 50 cash and amulet. Good to fine. 48 pcs.
 341 China. Copper coins, Hong Kong, diff. dates. Fine. 13 pcs.
 342 British India. Bengal. Fine to Unc. 18 pcs.
 343 Ceylon, Tree Rev. Diff. dates and values. Uncirculated. 11 pcs.
 344 Ceylon, 1802-15. Elephant sets. Very good. 6 pcs.
 345 Burmah, Bombay. Very good to fine. 14 pcs.
 346 Baroda, Indore, etc. Good to fine. 11 pcs.
 347 Cambodia, Circars. Fine to proof. 5 pcs.
 348 Indo-China, Ceylon, etc. Very good to fine. 12 pcs.
 349 Benares, Delhi, Mysore, Travancore. V. good to fine. 11 pcs.
 350 Hindustan, Native dumps. Good to fine. 18 pcs.
 351 Madras, 1 to 20 Cash. Vars. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$, 5, 10, 40 Cash. Fine. 11 pcs.
 352 Pondicherry, Dudu (2), $\frac{1}{2}$ and 1 Fanam. Fine. 4 pcs.

- 353 Port Asia, Diu. Goa. 20 Baz, 1748, 1800; $\frac{1}{2}$ and 1 Tanga. Good to fine. All rare. 5 pcs.
 354 Negapatan, Tranquebar, Siam. Good to fine. 10 pcs.
 355 Straits (3 sets), Borneo, etc. Fine to Unc. 24 pcs.
 356 Sarawak, $\frac{1}{4}$ c to 1c, 1863-92. Fine. 6 pcs.
 357 Brunci, Celebes, Sumatra, New Guinea. V. good to fine. 18 pcs.
 358 Java, 1805-59. Very good to fine. 26 pcs.
 359 Java, $\frac{1}{2}$, 1, 2 Doits V. O. C. 1734-1806. V. G. to fine. 16 pcs.
 360 Java 1st. 1799. Surabaya 1c, 1836. Very good and fine. Rare. 2 pcs.
 361 Philippines, Pr. of Wales, Hawaii. Very good to fine. 11 pcs.
 362 Duplicates foreign coppers. Good to Unc. Some scarce. 36 pcs.

INDIA.

- 363 Deccan, 1 Anna to Rupee, Bow and arrow. Fine. 5 pcs.
 364 Delhi, etc. Rupees (one square). Fine. 3 pcs.
 365 India. Native issues, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, 1 Rupees, 2 of each. Fine. 6 pcs.
 366 India. Native issues. Rupee down. Fine. 10 pcs.
 367 Nepal? $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, 1 Rupee. Head of Sun. Fine. 4 pcs.
 368 Siam bullet money, 1 Tical. Fine. Rare.
 369 India, Travancore, etc. 1 Anna to $\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee. Fine. 10 pcs.

Foreign Silver Coins.

- 370 **England.** Edward I. to Victoria. 1d to 6d. Very good. 8 pcs.
 371 Elizabeth, 3d, 6d. William III. 6d. Good and V. good. 3 pcs.
 372 Charles I. (2), Anne. Shillings. Very good. 3 pcs.
 373 **Silver and Nickel.** N. & S. America. W. Indies. Up to 500 Reis. Very good to Unc. 25 pcs.
 374 Europe, Belgium, France, Spain, Holland, Papal, etc. Very good to fine. 25 pcs.
 375 Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Russia, etc. Very good to fine. 27 pcs.
 376 Ceylon, China, Japan, Persia, etc. Some dups. Fine. 30 pcs.

Ancient Greek Silver.

- 377 Apollonia, Miletos, etc. Good. 4 pcs.
 378 Parthia, Gotarzes, Mithradates IV. Drachms. Fine. 2 pcs.
 379 Persia, Varhanes V., Chosroes II., Dirhems. Bust. Rev., fire, altar and Priests. M. 28. Very good. 2 pcs.
 380 Rhodes, B. C. 400. Drachm. Head of Helios (Helios). Rev., a rose. Fine.
 381 **Greek AE.** Athens, Locri, Macedon, Parthia. Good. 5 pcs.
 382 Athens, Carthage, Catana, Corinth. B. C. 393-200. Good to fine. 5 pcs.
 393 Amisus, Ephesus, Syracuse, etc. Good to very good. 7 pcs.
 384 Egypt. Ptolemy IV. B. C. 222. Head of Zeus. Rev., eagle. M. 37 Thick. Very good.

Roman First or Largest Bronze.

- 385 Nero, Domitian, Trajan. Good to very good. 3 pcs.
 386 Hadrian, Ant. Pius, Faustina. Good. 3 pcs.
 387 Aurelius, Faustina, Commodus, etc. Fair to good. 4 pcs.
 388 Julia, Sex. Alex. Maximinus, etc. Fair to very good. 5 pcs.

- 389 Philip, Octacilia, Decius, Gallus. Fair to good. 5 pcs.
 390 Trajan to Tra. Decius. Fair to good. 12 pcs.
 391 Hadrian to Philip. Fair to good. 12 pcs.

Roman Second Bronze.

- 392 Augustus, Tiberius, Antonia, etc. Fair to good. 5 pcs.
 393 Augustus, Claudius, Vespasian, etc. Fair to good. 5 pcs.
 394 Augustus, Tiberius, Vespasian, etc. (Judea Capta). About fair to good. 4 pcs.
 395 Nero. Fair to good. 3 pcs.
 396 Nero, Vespasian, Titus. Good. 3 pcs.
 397 Vespasian, Domitian, Commodus, etc. Fair to good. 7 pcs.
 398 Trajan, Hadrian, Ant. Pius, Faustina, Commodus, etc. Good to very good. 7 pcs.
 399 Sept. Severus, Caracalla, Treb. Gallus, Magnentius, etc. Good to fine. 7 pcs.

Roman Third Bronze.

- 400 From Republic to Honorius. A selected lot, includes Augustus, Claudius, Nero, Domitian, Carausius, Allectus. 36 rulers. Nearly all fine. 38 pcs.
 401 Claudius, Nero, to Constantine. Good to fine. 16 pcs.
 402 Nine Emperors. Good to fine. 23 pcs.
 403 Eight Emperors. Fair to fine. 22 pcs.
 404 Balance of Romans, includes large cast bronze of Nero and 4 base denari. Very good, and AE. 3 poor to good. 26 pcs.
 405 Greek and Roman, all sizes. Poor to good. 19 pcs.

U. S. Hard Times Tokens.

- 406 Low 8, 12, 19, 20, 28, 33, 44, 47, 51. Very good to fine. 11 pcs.
 407 Low 53, 4, 8, 60, 2, 7, 9, 75, 80. Very good to fine. 9 pcs.
 408 Low 83, 4, 103, 9, 11, 13, 5, 25, etc. Very good to fine. 10 pcs.
 409 U. S. Cards and Tokens. Beals, Milton, Ruggles, Wilbur, etc. Good to Unc. Some rare. 29 pcs.
 410 U. S. War Tokens, mostly size of small cent, few duplicates. Average very good. 76 pcs.
 411 **Book on Hard Times Tokens**, by Mr. Lyman H. Low. Second edition, revised and enlarged, 1900. The standard on the subject. Paper covers, slightly soiled but fine and very rare. High auction record.

Details of the sale of Professor Hutt's Collection

Total number of lots: 411

Number of Canadian lots: 132

Number of Canadian coins: 566

Number of Foreign lots: 279

Number of Foreign copper coins: 3736

Amount realized for Canadian coins: \$228.11

Amount realized for Foreign coins: \$313.31

Total amount realized for 411 lots: \$546.67

In order to fully appreciate the amount of money that Hutt grossed from the sale of his coin collection, we need to understand the impact of what five hundred dollars represented in 1916.

Salaries in Ontario for male teachers in 1910 were on average \$485 per year. Because of the war-time recession, this had dropped to \$428 by 1920. Also, income tax had been introduced in 1917.

According to Statistics Canada, a male farm labourer in Ontario made approximately \$35 per month, \$420 per year. A farm consisting of 100 acres of land with a seven-room farmhouse could be had in Georgetown in 1915 for \$600 (no crops) or \$1000 (crops already in the ground). The raw acreage Hutt would have bought from William Thompson, a family friend, was likely between \$5 and \$10 per acre.

We can conclude that the Hutt collection yielded the equivalent of a little more than a year's salary as a professor. During these uncertain times of WWI Hutt would have welcomed the money to start his new life.

Highlights of the Howard L. Hutt Collection

Lot 5	\$4.40	Breton 510. Jeton, 1751. Bust of Louis XV; rev. Indian standing in a field of lilies. Ex F. Very rare.
Lot 17	\$24.75	Breton 540. DE L'ISLE DE MONTREAL A REPENTIGUY ON LACHESNAYE. Rev. CHEVAL. Fine. Exceedingly rare.
Lot 18	\$4.20	Breton 559. VEXATOR CANADINSIS 1811. Very Crude, imperfectly struck as all are. Good. Very Rare.
Lot 45	\$4.20	Breton 706. Fine and rare.
Lot 99	\$4.40	Breton 970. Wellington bust. Rev. Britannia, no date., Very fine and very rare.
Lot 103	\$10.50	Breton 977. Wellington bust to left. Rev. TRADE & COMMERCE 1811. Very Fine, very rare.
Lot 124	\$26.45	Breton 1008. Bust to right. Rev. 1820. Female seated to left holding scales and cornucopia. Copper. Very crude work. Obv. Unusually well struck. Rev., head of female and lower half of figure 20 not well struck. One of the best known specimens of this extremely rare coin. Fine.
Lot 411	\$5.25	Book on Hard Times Tokens, second edition by Lyman Low.

Canadian Material: 132 lots / 564 coins = .3884 per coin or \$1.66 per lot

World Coins: 279 Lots / 3841 coins + 1 book (\$5.25)

TOTAL: 411 lots / 4405 coins = \$1.32 per lot or .123 cents per coin

Afterword

The Canadian Numismatic Research Society is pleased to submit to you this collection of articles prepared by some of the active Fellows of the CNRS. As witnessed by the In Memoriam section at the beginning of this volume we are losing some of our finest researchers and writers. It is only fitting that their passing be recorded by our Society within these pages.

As in years past a copy of the *Transactions* is donated to the Ontario Numismatic Association, the Royal Canadian Numismatic Association, the Bank of Canada and the British Museum. If anyone knows of any other museum or archive that could benefit from having a copy in their library please contact me with any relevant information about the institution.

If you are considering submitting an article to the *Transactions* in the future please read A Guide For Contributors found on page 4 in this volume. This guide is very significant for the author as well as the committee that proofs, edits and prepares this publication. Anyone needing clarification of anything within the Guide please contact me for further explanation. Thank you in advance for this important consideration.

I would like to acknowledge our contributing authors for their hard work and dedication. I am grateful to each one for their commitment to share their discoveries with the numismatic world. Special thanks to Chris Faulkner for his continuing commitment and the many hours of his time spent proofreading the *Transactions*. The amount of time spent on this task is indeed tremendous as is Chris's wholehearted dedication.

On behalf of the Canadian Numismatic Research Society it is my hope that you get a lot of reading pleasure from *Transactions 2019*. As always, if you have any thoughts, opinions, or comments you wish to share about our journal please feel free to contact me at sdouglas333@gmail.com at any time. Enjoy!

Sincerely
Scott E. Douglas